

**Encounters at Lima's inner-city marketplaces:
negotiating fragmentation and common living in
urban Peru**

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I, Ana Maria Huaita Alfaro, confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.

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Abstract

This thesis explores encounters in Lima's inner-city marketplaces as residents' everyday intersections that exceed the immediate co-presence and imply ongoing negotiations on the shared space and activities together. These lead residents to shape relations and arrangements towards common living, on top of experiences of social and spatial fragmentation in this Latin American city. Encounters and negotiations are framed within the distinctiveness and complexity of market environments, historically accomplishing roles for economic and political participation, as well as social and cultural life in cities. Moreover, in the context of the 'Gastronomic Boom' of Peruvian cuisine, food became a central means through which it was possible to approximate these local environments. Two case-study markets in Lima were investigated through ethnographic work, applying experiential, immersive and qualitative methods. These were key in producing information on topics and locations little documented, as well as in raising comparisons between cases and across global references explored under this approach. Hence, this work informed about encounters – around typical foodstuffs such as *ceviche* - in the realms of markets' management, imaginaries and exchanges. Beyond commercial transactions and exchanges, encounters among the diverse collective of traders and customers unveiled tensions from fragmentations in urban governance, social diversity and civic relatedness, but also allowed to identify common actions of collaboration, co-creation and connection. Furthermore, beyond-economic values emerged as determining market users' participation from these spaces. Social values such as trust, recognition and sociability underlaid market encounters and shaped residents' actions in common as well as engagements with markets' common making. Research outcomes invite to expand understandings and applications of urban encounters in the evaluation of complex realms of city making and living. Addressing shared values and actions allows to approach factors that ultimately determine the extent in which urban plans and growth processes respond to individual demands and contribute to building collective urban futures.

Impact Statement

This work aims to have impacts for academic and non-academic groups currently or potentially participating in the research and planning of local spaces of everyday encounter and civic engagement. Taking the case of marketplaces, it raises awareness of realms from which residents obtain resources and outcomes to build ways of reaching aspirations from city living. In that sense, the intention of this work is to prove the applicability of this research framework as a guiding tool for future research and planning for urban marketplaces.

In relation to academic purposes, the contributions of this work are aimed to expand the frontiers of market studies from the multidisciplinary fields that have informed this research. I have raised dialogues between markets and urban planning studies, and connected these with fields of Latin American politics, urban geography, cultural and food studies. Departing from examples on Lima, these discussions on urban living connect disciplines and latitudes still scarcely addressed in academic production. Therefore, I will disseminate these outcomes in circles that will enrich dialogues and expand opportunities to apply these to current challenges in contemporary city-making. These outputs will be shared in journals and specialised publications in urban, market and food studies.

Furthermore, to address challenges from city making and urban planning, I acknowledge that it is key to share and continuously produce knowledge from the grounds of markets. This is only achieved with the close participation of residents such as traders, customers and other actors from the public, private and civic spheres of urban living. Thus, in addition to academic purposes, this work and subsequent dialogues produced are also aimed to impact on the formation and engagement of urban agents working next to researchers and practitioners in urban planning projects. Hence, I will importantly direct efforts to share research insights through means and activities for public engagement, in spaces of physical and virtual encounter. These can lead to consolidating networks of knowledge and practice at the urban and national level, as well as

within the Latin American region. Moreover, it is my interest to expand these networks to Northern cities, where these sorts of exchanges among market actors, including academia, have worked for the revitalisation of markets for civic benefit.

Finally, I expect these outputs and exchanges to impact on dynamizing these spaces economically and socially, reaching and inviting more actors to participate in their activities. Knowledge production can encourage collaborations among market actors, as well as directly impact on the multiplicity of activities at markets, leading to renewed roles and values placed on these. Such renewed understandings can broaden opportunities for economic participation, making these spaces more inviting for new ventures. These can also broaden opportunities for residents' involvement in urban politics, increasingly engaging with claims and contributions towards the adequate functioning and regulation of these spaces of collective operation. In this way, different forms of participation also encourage social commitments, with residents encountering each other around resources and dialogues that lead to fruitful arrangements for coexistence in diversity. These aspects will strongly contribute to markets' sustainability.

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Glossary

APEGA

Peruvian Gastronomic Society (Sociedad Peruana de Gastronomía)

Casera (f), casero (m)

Name for frequent customer or trader.

Ceviche

Peruvian typical dish based on raw fish cooked in lime juice. Ceviche is also the name for typical dishes in other Latin American countries. However, Peruvian chefs and historians have defended the originality of the dish as rooted in Peruvian culture and past (Valderrama, 2007).

Cevichería

Market restaurant mainly offering ceviche and seafood dishes.

Jaladores

Workers at market restaurants approaching and calling customers to consume.

Limeño

Resident from Lima.

Menu

Market restaurant serving a variety of typical dishes and set menus.

Yapa

Free products or an additional serving to the meal portion, provided at the end of market exchanges.

1. Research aims and culinary approaches

*“Hay de todo, casera, pregunte”
 (“There is everything, casera [frequent customer], ask me”).
 This phrase can be overheard along the market from traders
 offering their products and dishes, as in the case of ceviche.*

Fieldnote San Jose Market 16/12/2014

This is a typical phrase for inviting customers to market stalls, under the promise of finding a wide variety of foodstuffs and satisfying any need or craving that might have drawn you to the marketplace. I heard this phrase repeatedly during my visits to marketplaces in Lima as part of my fieldwork for this research. Beyond the varied foodstuffs, it made me realise that finding ‘everything’ also implied meeting individuals from different venues, sharing a trading space in which direct interactions allowed the establishing of forms of co-presence between different individuals and tastes. Observations from these visits led me to question how these spaces could endure in spite of the tensions that emerge from observing closely the experiences of everyday commingling.

These observations invited me to explore how market users and key actors in their functioning could accommodate their varied and often contrasting demands, uses and purposes over the varied products and the shared space of operation. Moreover, it invited me to explore how these individuals had accommodated their tastes and urban trajectories to meet around resources of shared interest. Likewise, it invited me to observe exchanges and reflect on how these were conducted, if these replicated or contrasted the unequal or absent relations that were established in the streets, outside this shared space. From these explorations, I could identify there were sources of tension or

fragmentation among market users, but also negotiations producing commonalities leading to moments of co-presence and exchange.

Based on these reflections, this research has been developed with a focus on marketplaces in their close relation to urban spatial and social fragmentations. Building on the still limited information found on these places in urban planning, my work seeks to contribute to development planning projects from the inclusion of markets' roles as central spaces for everyday living and engaging with a shared urban project. Moreover, this work is developed under a constant dialogue between global debates and the particularities of the context addressed. The aim is to build knowledge from an underexplored South American city and question what can be learned from its distinctive conflicts and ways of contesting these conflicts for achieving more fruitful lives in the city.

Having stated the research focus, I should note that my awareness on topics underlying it departed from my academic insights but also from my experiences as life time resident of Lima. When deciding to conduct this project, I was motivated to address spaces of convergence in the city, where residents could meet around shared and agreed paths, intentions and conversations, despite diverging forms of everyday coexistence – for instance observed in the illegal appropriation of lands, instituted expressions of discrimination, and conflictive arrangements for urban mobility. Thus, I focused on possibilities for living together on top of the barriers most strongly emerging from accounts on the city (Vega Centeno, 2017; Ludeña, 2010). Moreover, being a lifetime resident, I decided to add a personal lens from which I could approach this context.

Drawing on my culinary curiosity, I placed my research questions on urban living in the realm of culinary systems and experiences, especially during the current period of renewed interest in national foodstuffs. In my own experience, during these years I had found more opportunities to meet around food as a common interest with other residents. Thus, I was motivated to expand my exploration in this regard. Labelled the 'Gastronomic Boom' of Peruvian food,

this period has brought about economic success to an increasing number of food entrepreneurs in Lima and beyond. Current trends on food consumption have worked towards positioning Lima as a 'gastronomic capital'. In this context, gastronomic promoters backing these trends have raised appeals to return to traditional spaces such as markets and street commerce for enjoying of the national richness in food traditions (Valderrama, 2016). In that way, this period gave me the chance to look at spaces of everyday food consumption, and to identify parallels between the abovementioned fragmentations and sources of convergence and commonality among diverse residents, as in food and shared spaces of exchange.

This is how I found in these trends a new direction where negotiations on everyday tensions could be approached. Nonetheless, while developing this study I became aware that these were benefiting only certain aspects of the urban economy and certain actors as well. Economic data on gastronomic trends has not reflected the complicated conditions in which the diversity of publics in Lima access food resources. Likewise, the rising interest in the culinary offer has not reflected if there is a limited involvement of city residents in maintaining or recovering these spaces. Nor it has raised insights on the still scarce interactions among social classes, or even prevailing discriminatory attitudes, for instance towards these varied publics, including migrant and emerging classes. In this regard, I chose marketplaces for addressing culinary experiences and the tensions or negotiations over these from the everyday in Lima.

Markets' qualities as permanent spaces of food provisioning and open to diverse publics maintain these as spaces for everyday commingling and for the everyday contestation of public and collective challenges in urban living (Buie, 1996). In this city, marketplaces are often found as disregarded and invisible in the social, economic and political configuration of the modern city. Moreover, I could observe city residents using and engaging with today's markets as visitors and unattached consumers, as if conceiving the urban space - and the city as a whole - as strangers' territory, reflected in the lack of

identification with what the individual finds in the public space where he or she is operating.

This way, my approximation to the 'gastronomic city' provided orientation to my analysis on governance operations, cultural constructions and civic actions impacting on food and urban systems connecting residents. These departing concerns led me to notice the centrality of encounters in urban living. Thus, from focusing on encounters as residents' intersections at markets, I moved on to analyse their experiences on urban conditions at these spaces, which may raise divisions among them but at the same time may shape marketplaces for an agreeable togetherness beyond urban divisions.

My fieldwork was developed in the direction of these questions and the collected information allowed me to define the framework and research outcomes presented in this dissertation. Given the centrality of urban experiences and encounters in my research, an ethnographic approach guided my process of data collection and the analytical work that followed. Moreover, I have fed this work with images from markets, urban visits and knowledge exchanges I have been part of while in Peru and abroad. My intention is to bring the reader closer to the observations and reflections I could raise from experiencing being and sharing at these common spaces.

This research journey has been accompanied by old and new memories about Lima and familiar places that I learned to rediscover along this project. I learned to see Lima through its markets, through the implicit and explicit connections these spaces have with the social, economic and political dynamics of surrounding areas. The everyday contains these connections but one often misses them. Brief encounters at markets allowed me to reconstruct these relations with already known areas, along with challenging views and discomforts on the city. Being at these markets also led me to revive memories from my own family history – with my grandmother starting the family business at a regional market, and my parents migrating to Lima for professional opportunities and contributing to its sociocultural diversity.

Finally, food as a lens for these encounters compelled me to look at spaces and systems in which it is enmeshed, beyond the local and beyond regular practices. This is how I decided to conduct explorations to international markets and learn about international gastronomic cultures. These have likewise fed the insights and reflections that I raise in this work. All of these aspects have accompanied and facilitated my engagement with markets. Building on these experiences, I developed the framework I present next.

1.1 Research Framework

This research builds on approximations to urban life in Lima from its marketplaces. It particularly addresses the possibilities these spaces present for residents to confront the city's complex sources of fragmentation and open up fields of negotiation for living together and developing a sense of the city as a shared project. Based on these considerations, the main question this research addresses is:

How do encounters in Lima's inner-city marketplaces respond to fragmentations in urban governance, diversity and social relatedness, and how do these encounters shape marketplaces as common spaces in urban life?

To respond to this main question, three core notions have guided this work: encounter, fragmentation and commons. Based on these, I could also develop specific questions from which I built the analysis. These notions and questions are introduced next.

1.1.1 Core notions

I applied the notion of encounter to define moments of physical intersection expressing forms of common living among urban residents, as market users. In that way, encounters are understood as exceeding physical co-presence and taking place on top of social and spatial divisions in urban life, encouraging processes of negotiation for being together at shared spaces (Fincher, 2017). Moreover, market encounters can be identified as taking place through social and material arrangements connecting individuals (Fincher & Iveson, 2008). Materialities participating in encounters play key roles in this study in the sense these are useful for situating and exploring what tensions or contestations may underlie such moments of togetherness (Koch & Latham, 2013).

Given the background of the Peruvian gastronomic context, I took this as an opportunity to observe encounters around food at marketplaces and use these as a lens from which to analyse the everyday at these sites. This way, observations from encounters around food have importantly fed the analysis and arguments raised in this study. Current trends of food consumption in Lima are observed as stressing or bringing about contestations and are introduced as setting a particular context of potential revaluation of marketplaces, hosting encounters under modern visions on the city. References to ethnographic studies at marketplaces enlightened me in this approximation (De La Pradelle, 2006). Based on these understandings and field information, I focused on three realms of encounter – as main fields concentrating experiences at markets: management, imaginaries and exchanges.

The notion of fragmentation was useful to describe divisions and everyday tensions among residents. By focusing on encounters, I could identify sources of fragmentation for the context of inner-Lima, matching observations with bibliographic accounts on the city (Peters & Skop, 2007). Thus, this notion was appropriate to understand these sources of fragmentation as producing “threats to the shared nature of urban spaces and encounters” (Scorer, 2016, p.21) and leading to disengagements with the urban collective and with the city in common. This way, I identified sources of fragmentation from this study as defining urban conditions setting barriers and conflicts in everyday encounters and experiences of urban living at markets. In relation to the fields of encounter mentioned above, I focused on three sources of fragmentation: market-led governance, unassimilated social differences, and weakened civic relatedness.

Finally, the notion of urban commons guided my discussions on these spaces, identifying shared purposes and engagements that emerged from the everyday, and from which it is possible to envision a fruitful living in common for urban residents (Foster & Iaione, 2016). Thus, on top of the divisive arrangements that urban fragmentations imply, I could also identify actions and values forged in common among market users, from which I discuss markets as used, accessed and produced in common. In this regard, discussions and

studies on urban commons have substantially fed my reflections on the identified encounters and fragmentations. I look at the sense of commons and shared engagements that may arise from the confluence of urban conditions inviting residents' encounters in these spaces (Amin, 2008). Nonetheless, I cannot claim this to be a rigorous evaluation of an urban commons. It is in that understanding that I present markets as common spaces, and stress mainly on their roles for bringing people together. In relation to the fields of encounter and sources of fragmentation raised before, I expand on three actions in common among market users: collaboration, co-creation and connection, sustained by the values of trust, recognition and sociality nurtured from those shared experiences.

1.1.2 Fields of Encounter

From the core notions guiding this work, I developed key lines of discussion from which I could expand on encounters, looking at how these were framed by sources of division and commonality from the sharing of urban spaces and resources, such as food. This way, and departing from the main research question, I defined the following specific questions in relation to three identified fields of encounter:

What does markets' management reveal about collaborations over market-led urban governance in local spaces of collective economic operations?

To understand encounters in the field of markets' management, I observed these spaces as hosting collective economic operations at their correspondent localities. Traders and customers often referred to the way markets operated, and I could identify tensions between private and public logics underlying failures in this regard. Thus, I followed operations in management and use as everyday 'tactics' (De Certeau et al., 1998) through which residents dealt with these tensions and shaped the shared space. It invited me to reflect on relations of trust and distrust knitted among the various actors at market

spaces, shaping their collaborations and markets' opportunities for their recovery.

What do market imaginaries suggest about collective responses to social differences in local spaces of visible expressions of diversity?

To approach encounters in the field of market imaginaries, I regarded markets as local spaces portraying visible expressions of diversity. Market users described their experiences at markets as strongly marked by material elements, aesthetic components and social meanings associated with individuals commingling and shaping the shared space. Thus, I followed those social meanings and material representations accompanying the visibility and popularity of food offers at markets. I found an unequal popularity of offers that in turn reflected the unequal 'visibility' of market actors (Fincher, 2017). The invisibility of certain urban agents at markets reflected the missing openness towards different others, as well as unassimilated or unequally recognised differences among residents commingling in the urban space (Young, 1990). These underlie expressions of segregation and social barriers among diverse individuals participating of markets. Hence, I analysed those expressions associated with the diversity of assets and stories converging in market spaces, reflecting the recognition or not of social differences, as well as their collective recreation from the everyday in common.

What do market exchanges indicate about connections with regards to weakened civic relatedness in local spaces of public interaction?

To analyse encounters from the field of market exchanges, I departed from acknowledging markets as local spaces of public interaction. Exchanges are key moments around which market users encounter, characterised by an easy sociability among strangers. In this study, traders and customers recalled the sociable approaches from commercial interactions. However, they also recalled the prevalence of contrasting attitudes to strangers not participating in these moments, thus showing a weakened relatedness among market agents that also characterised these places of coexistence. In that sense, I

followed interactions among market users – even if transient – acknowledging that these forms of relating at the shared space supported markets’ economic and beyond-economic values, as well as markets’ roles in nurturing city life (Black, 2012). On top of differences, I could identify social values such as trust, recognition and sociality, facilitating connections among residents commingling at marketplaces and implied in their production as common spaces in the city. Table 1 summarises the research framework introduced:

Fields of encounter	Sources of fragmentation: Conditioning encounters	Values and common actions: Possibilities from encounters
Markets’ management	Market-led urban governance	Trust and collaboration in markets’ management
Market imaginaries	Unassimilated social differences	Recognition and collective recreation of market imaginaries
Market exchanges	Weakened civic relatedness	Sociality and connection from market exchanges

Table 1. Key topics organising research.

To inform this work under the introduced framework, I addressed case studies following an ethnographic approach and closely looking at specificities of their locations that could enlarge my understanding on their current situation. In agreement with Seligmann (2015), “markets have distinctive identities” (p. 35), that emerge from their distinctive stories and urban agents involved. Thus, the information gathered for each site has been analysed to understand the reality of each location and from this, to build comparisons across sites. In parallel, this local analysis was conducted in permanent dialogue with information from broader social, political and economic factors underlying local arrangements. In spite of the specificities of the context, it cannot be dissociated from urban processes beyond the local. Under this perspective, in addition to the global approach of urban discussions raised, this study has been informed with cases of markets around the globe to explore the effects of such processes in shaping these spaces and users’ experiences.

In terms of time periods covered, I situated the study in a governance period defined by Joseph et al. (2008) as 'democratic transition', which takes place from the end of Fujimori's dictatorship in the year 2000 and continues to date. Nonetheless, broader historical references are required in order to refer to the political economy and sociocultural systems framing the encounters. For that purpose, this research pays attention to processes of market-led urban growth most strongly introduced since the 1990s, in terms of the way the political economy reshaped everyday spaces and possibilities for fruitful coexistence. Historical information on Lima's foundation and population has been also introduced in order to situate what defines its socio-cultural diversity and to introduce notions that are also applied in food trends and practices observed at marketplaces. Based on these considerations, I present characteristics of Lima and its inner-city marketplaces that set the context for this research work.

1.2 About Lima: the urban / culinary scene

*“A bit of everything, sometimes with grace and quality. And
sometimes strident and glaring (...)
Lima is all of this and is changing rapidly. A young, emerging and
chaotic metropolis, in which more than half of its inhabitants were
born elsewhere and more than a few want to move on, seeing it
as merely a temporary stopping place (...)
Many places in one, in fact.
Discovering it and getting to know it helps you to enjoy and
understand it – if that is possible. From what can be said from its
cuisine or its music and its youth culture it is possible, if you want
to.”*

(Ortiz de Zevallos, 2006, p.109)

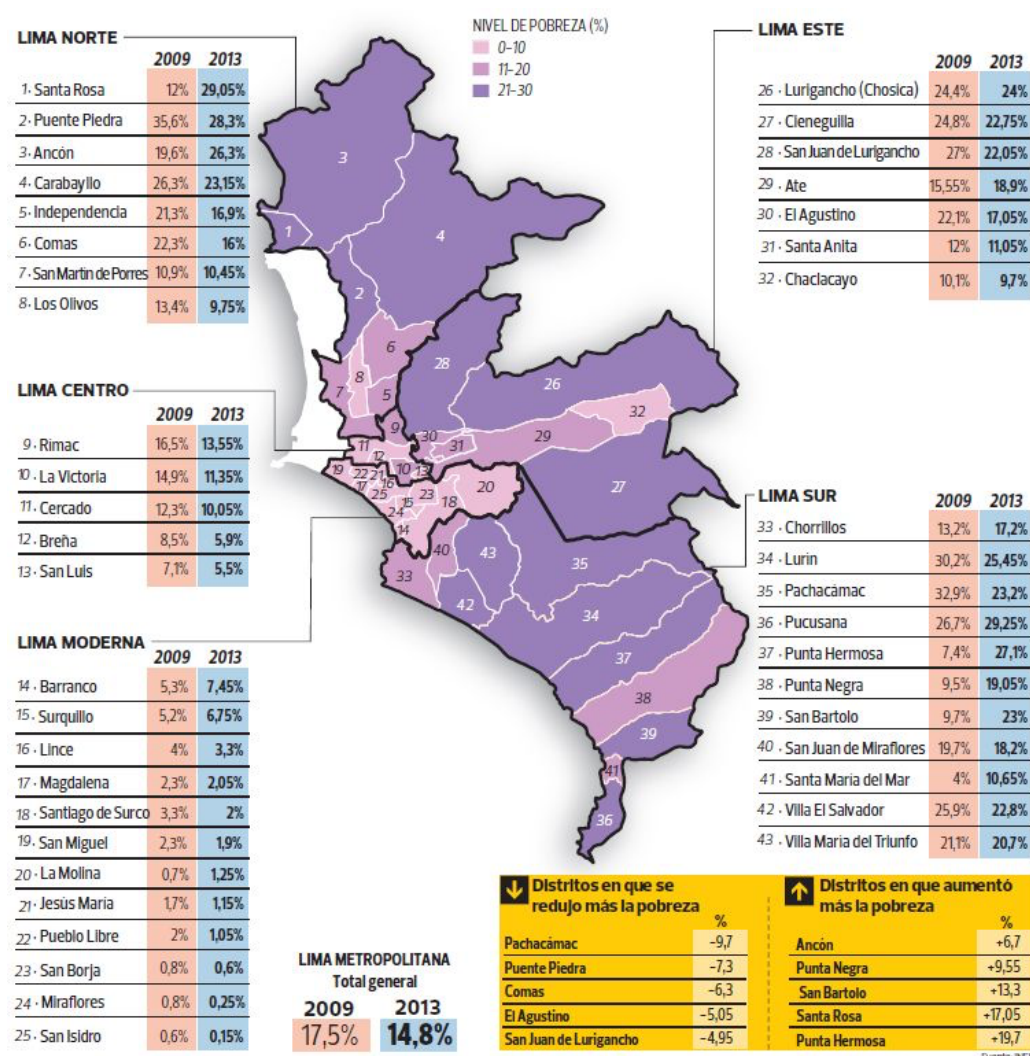
In the way the Peruvian architect Ortiz de Zevallos (2006) describes, the multiplicity and complexity of the city can be experienced from its architecture, its cultural expressions, its forms of being governed and inhabited by the actors engaging with it day by day. The built and social environments encountered today point as well to the processes of expansion and transition to the contemporary city, which reveal Lima not only as multiple and complex, but also as fragmented. In this regard, urban scholars such as Peters and Skop (2007, pp. 154-155) argue that the urbanisation of Lima is characterised by a “(...) continued fragmentation of the urban space” as well as by a continued “(...) segregation that stresses social distance and interaction between socioeconomic groups”. Its social fragmentation can be described from social differences not assimilated and not recognised as part of the urban collective. These differences strongly emerge from historical processes of occupation – from colonial times, subsequent periods of intense national migration, to current times of less migratory dynamism but increased social mobility after the flexibilization of local and global systems of economic participation. Moreover, the fragmentation of Lima’s physical spaces responds to the

unequal distribution of opportunities to access land rights, basic services and productive activities, which are ultimately defined according to the economic power of urban agents (Calderón, 2013). These conditions underlie the multiplicity of residents' trajectories and the complexity of arrangements they have developed to secure their lives in Lima.

Lima concentrates a third of the Peruvian population – 9 866,647 inhabitants according to an official estimate in 2015, being the country's total population of 31.2 million inhabitants (INEI, 2014). Metropolitan Lima is organised in 43 municipalities, distributed in four areas – North, South, East and Centre – and one constitutional province, Callao. The capital city was originally founded in the areas of Lima Centre and Callao. The remaining areas expanded with the city's growth towards the peripheries. Northern and Eastern districts today host the largest number of inhabitants, but central districts have a considerably higher density of population. Each district and the constitutional province are governed by an autonomous municipality, but all respond to a metropolitan municipality, which oversees issues that articulate the different areas and their functioning in relation to the political and historical centre (Ministerio de Vivienda, Construcción y Saneamiento del Perú, 2016).

On average, central districts concentrate a larger portion of groups with higher economic profile (INEI, 2014). Although this area presents a lower concentration of poverty indicators (See Figure 1.1), districts from central and modern Lima still host an important population from low and emerging middle classes. Lima also presents a high concentration of economic and political powers, given it hosts the main administrative, financial and commercial hubs also in its central area. There can be found most of the central government offices, the most important organisations present in the country – corporations, international organisations, civil society entities – as well as the most active commercial centres in the city. Thus, central districts present a higher density of economic dynamics from commercial activities, businesses, workers and users of the services provided by the former. The resulting unequal values and uses of urban spaces across the city appear as shaping the urban

configuration and affecting possibilities for fair and inclusive ways of inhabiting the city.



Source: Rivas, 2015

Figure 1.1 Metropolitan Lima and socioeconomic divisions.

Poverty map comparing 2009 and 2013 poverty levels.

This report groups districts per main areas – including a distinction on ‘Modern Lima’ as a central area concentrating districts with higher socioeconomic levels (Asociación Peruana de Empresas de Investigación de Mercado, 2017). Districts at central and ‘modern’ Lima, as described in map, are the most densely populated (INEI, 2014).

Lima residents' responses to conditions of fragmentation in the urban setting have been addressed in various studies focusing on the impacts of market-led urban projects and residents' use of spaces of the public realm. These accounts reveal an increasing individualisation and disengagement with such spaces, as well as represent divisive views and interests on the opportunities that urban development projects represent to fulfil needs and aspirations in the city (Joseph et al., 2008; Protzel de Amat, 2011). In Lima, as in other Latin American capital cities, urbanisation processes have taken place without prior planning on how spaces and opportunities for wellbeing could be more equally distributed for residents of these metropolises (Portes & Roberts, 2005). As Díaz-Albertini (2016) pointed out in his study on public spaces in Lima, the reliance on free market mechanisms to address urban demands has undermined the centrality of residents' roles in securing their wellbeing and nurturing a positive coexistence in the city. Despite the predominance of these accounts for Lima, the negotiation of these fragmentations in the everyday is often missed. This is how I got to question the roles of urban encounters for urban living, for experiencing and responding to these sources of tension among residents.

1.2.1 Gastronomic Boom: Commonalities over fragmentations?

Thinking about aspects allowing for a positive coexistence in spite of existing divisions in the contemporary city invited me to reflect on aspects of convergence in which differences could feed into desirable experiences in urban living. This has been the case of cultural expressions that have been nurtured from the 'cultural mix' of diverse backgrounds composing today's city. This mix has given sense to the creole culture characterising Lima's traditional expressions, found in the city's architecture, the arts, and culinary manifestations (Luza, 2014; Municipalidad de Miraflores, 2007). Considering culinary expressions providing aspects of convergence, this thesis situates marketplaces as spaces of everyday commingling around food exchange during a period of great awareness of native and traditional food in Peru.

'Gastronomic boom' is the term coined for this period of outstanding economic growth of the Peruvian culinary sector. During the early 2000s, there was an increase in the number of gastronomic projects and entrepreneurial activities, as well as a rising culinary interest both nationally and internationally on Peruvian foodstuffs (CEPLAN, 2012). For instance, there is a rising number of restaurants in Peru, which have doubled over the last decade - in 2001, there were 40 000 restaurants and by 2011, 80 000. The city of Lima hosts almost half of these establishments – by 2013, 39 895 restaurants were operating in the city (INEI, 2013). This period started in the late 1990s but consolidated in the coming decade, along with the period of democratic transition, as a 'boom' of high cuisine in Lima that later impacted in other main cities of the country (Matta, 2012).

The greater attention towards food can be identified as a response towards a discourse and subsequent activities that have encouraged the valuation of native produce, the recognition of the role of producers, and the contribution of the diversity of cultures that have encountered historically in the country. These views on food and actors are reflected in the richness and variety of Peruvian cuisine today. However, this message has also maintained a strong orientation towards opening economic opportunities for the gastronomic sector in local and global markets (Rockower, 2012).

The main contributors to the gastronomic discourse in Peru have in common the aim of promoting Peruvian gastronomy but have also shared favourable socioeconomic and professional positions. The most visible actors of the gastronomic movement are high end chefs and public figures, status that worked favourably to become publicly recognised through media campaigns. National and international media have covered the renewed attention to culinary tastes and related economic activities after the culinary boom. These include initiatives that have emerged as linking gastronomic projects with urban spaces. Nonetheless, civic negotiations to position this sharing of tastes and spaces at the local scale and over Lima's fragmentations are yet pending tasks. Recognised culinary practices are not necessarily as open and accessible as the gastronomic movement has suggested.

The city of Lima has been situated at the centre of Peru's gastronomic projects. The city has been considered a window to portray culinary demonstrations in attractive spaces, and in such way, portray an idealized image of the country to the world. The positioning of Lima as a gastronomic capital has been translated into positive economic indicators, mostly in terms of the food businesses and international economic activities that have been encouraged – mainly tourism and exports (APEGA, 2013). These gastronomic trends followed parallel consumption trends at a global scale, which encouraged a looking back at local cultures, histories and traditions and to place these as consumption assets. Street food, popular culinary practices and the diversity of cultural backgrounds in food dishes gained visibility in the media and attracted new customers to what is considered as traditional and authentic from the city (Fan, 2013). Markets, as emblematic sites of food supply and culinary traditions, have also responded to the introduced gastronomic dynamics (Matta, 2010; Valderrama, 2016).

The 'Gastronomic city' project considered urban recoveries to highlight the value of gastronomic spaces, including markets among other spaces recognised for culinary traditions. However, urban interventions – in social and spatial terms - that could be aligned to this project have not progressed to date. In that sense, even if introducing a discourse of social inclusion and participation through cuisine, the gastronomic boom and its implications for everyday urban spaces, such as marketplaces, may actually be experienced as replicating systems of social, economic and political fragmentation in the public realm (Caravedo, 2013). In this respect, this research attempts to go beyond the positive numbers from new entrepreneurial ventures after the Gastronomic boom, or the positive comments from occasional consumers of traditional food at marketplaces. By approaching spaces in which food is daily exchanged, it is questioned if, in addition of providing a topic of interest and convergence among residents, open spaces such as markets and their associated economic projects can also provide opportunities for recovering people's engagements with the city.

1.2.2 Inner-city marketplaces

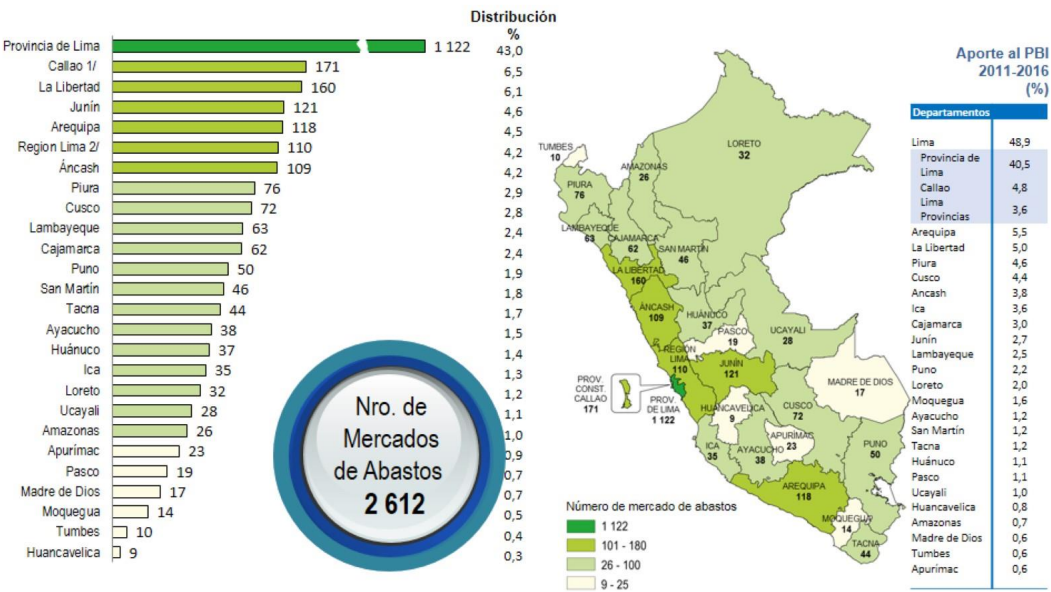
I acknowledged the historical roles of marketplaces as spaces of encounter and given their large presence in Lima, decided to take these as the focus for my research. Processes of spatial and social fragmentation such as those described for Lima's urban growth have brought about conditions working against opportunities and expectations for encountering openly and freely in the city. Enclosed spaces (Black, 2012) and fear of unknown and diverse residents (Amin, 2008) are symptoms of these disconnections with urban living. The openness of market settings and exchanges, however, still provide occasions in which it is possible to participate in moments of co-presence, around shared interests and synergic actions over the production of a common space.

In contrast to other capital cities in Latin America, markets still have an important role in Lima in the provisioning of food supplies city-wide, supplying a larger share of consumers than supermarkets. In her study on small scale commerce in Lima's public areas, Filgueiras (2009) highlighted how markets are easily encountered when transiting along the city. This information has been confirmed by the analysis carried out by the National Institute of Statistics after the national census of markets in 2016. In spite of supermarkets' growing presence in the city, the great majority of residents still rely on markets and other forms of direct commerce (street vendors and small shops) for their provisioning (INEI, 2016).

Lima concentrates 43% of national markets, present in their different forms – old and emblematic markets, neighbourhood markets, street markets, managed by municipalities or traders' associations (Figure 1.2). There are 1122 markets in the capital. Although markets have spread in number in the peripheries, there is an important number of these operating in all areas of the city. In Peru, there are 2612 markets according to this census. In 20 years, from 1996 to 2016, markets have doubled in number at national level, both because of the growing capacity of investment by independent traders, following a growth of the national economy (PBI), as well as on a growing

population still reliant on these sources. Supermarkets have also grown at national level, these have multiplied around six times in the last ten years, but these do not supply the larger national and urban majorities (INEI, 2016).

PERÚ: NÚMERO DE MERCADOS DE ABASTOS, SEGÚN DEPARTAMENTOS, 2016



1/ Provincia Constitucional.
2/ Comprende las provincias de Barranca, Cajatambo, Canta, Cañete, Huaral, Huarochiri, Huaura, Oyón y Yauyos.
Fuente: Instituto Nacional de Estadística e Informática - Censo Nacional de Mercados de Abastos 2016.

Source: INEI, 2016

Figure 1.2 Distribution of marketplaces in Peru.

Lima concentrates the highest number of traditional markets in the country. In the city, markets’ distribution is linked to population number, spending capacity and attitudes towards traditional and modern commerce by districts’ residents. Moreover, urban governance interventions – prioritising private over public spaces and services - also influence the availability of these centres per district.

The first enclosed markets of this city were established as municipal markets in districts today conforming Central Lima. These were the main locations for daily supplies for the corresponding districts and as such, placed in central locations (Coello, 2014). Some of these markets are the first referents of market halls, with buildings once taken as infrastructural references for modernity in the city. These were also places of confluence for the urban groups they aimed to serve. Because these are still largely available and accessible, marketplaces in Lima remain as relevant examples for everyday commingling.

Finding old and central marketplaces in not favourable conditions for trading, working and even spending time, raised my interest in exploring what made these places lose their relevance, experience difficulties in maintenance conditions and face ongoing struggles to overcome this situation. In spite of the challenges in the maintenance of public spaces and services, these still respond to the supplying needs of the high density of residents living or daily converging in these areas. In that intention, the sites chosen for this work were the traditional and enclosed marketplaces, or *mercado de abastos*, considered emblematic, of longstanding presence, and located in central areas (Coello, 2014).

My case studies were Mercado N.1 of Surquillo district (under public administration), and San Jose market of Jesus Maria district (currently under the administration of the traders' association). Both are the first municipal markets of their corresponding district, but given the contrasts in actors, interests and interventions converging at these sites, these have differently faced challenges for their subsistence. These markets persist in spite of privatising and modernising imperatives in urbanisation processes and practices of common living. Based on the research conducted at these cases, I responded to the agenda I introduce next.

1.3 Thesis Outline

“Spaces and relations at these markets replicate what occurs in the immediate urban and socio-economic context in which they are located.

In that sense, it could be that their configuration is determined by different influences [as in the case of] how markets are managed (...)

what is left visible and what is being hidden (as dirtiness and poverty) (...) the way [food] negotiations take place, the spaces allowed for all of this to happen. (...) These and other factors to me seemed to represent public encounters that are particular to the place and to the actors meeting in different ways.”

Fieldnote – after visits to both case studies 09/02/2015

Marketplaces have been historically at the centre of cities’ political, economic and social organisation. Examples have been reported since ancient markets such as the Athenian Agora, where food was exchanged next to political ideas, to the introduction of market buildings impacting on urban transformations in European cities during the 19th century. These were followed by market halls later introduced around the world. Found in present times in varied shapes and sizes, markets still provide contemporary solutions to food production and distribution as well as to conflicts between urbanisation and food sustainability (Fava et al., 2016; Guàrdia & Oyon, 2007; Panozzo, 2013; Tangires, 2008). Looking at Peruvian cities, markets have also accomplished roles in shaping urban configurations throughout their histories. In turn, the configuration and distribution of markets portray interesting aspects related to processes of urban transformation.

This thesis places a lens on marketplaces and encounters around food in order to address queries on modern living in little explored urban contexts and contribute in that way to the planning agenda with perspectives for fruitful and

common living. It develops from a research framework placing global debates around city living into the everyday of this Latin American city, and moves on to discuss case studies under the realms of encounter identified from the empirical study. Based on this, the following chapters respond to the following outline:

Chapter 2 is dedicated to introducing core references and topics that expand on discussions about the marketplaces studied. In that sense, I introduce marketplaces in terms of their roles in urban living, as reported in market studies for global cases. Then, I present the core notions guiding this work (Section 2.1) under the urban debates applied to address the research questions and to guide the research outcomes. Next, I present each field of encounter in two sections – from which analytical chapters (4 to 6) follow. In section 2.2 I discuss how market encounters take place under urban forms of fragmentation, and raise urban agents' responses over them, in order to secure their aims in everyday living. In section 2.3 I discuss how responses from encounters can lead to shaping urban conditions through shared actions and challenge otherwise conflictive realities. Topics derive mainly from market and planning studies, but I have likewise complemented these with approaches from urban geography, political economy, urban cultures and food studies from Latin American and Global North sources.

Chapter 3 describes the ethnographic approach undertaken for this study. I describe how the fieldwork was planned for responding to the main questions and aims of this research, and also the considerations I took to decide the strategy for data collection. Then, I introduce the approach from key references on market ethnographies and from sources adopted in developing my ethnographic techniques. I also describe particularities from my study in the field and note the data collection process (Section 3.1). Next, I describe the case studies and the characteristics for which these were chosen – against the questions and purposes of this work (Section 3.2). I move on to describe the qualitative methods applied: the participant observation undertaken, interviews with market users and the literature review used to reconstruct these realities, and the visit to a series of national and international markets that helped me

to expand my arguments and understandings (Section 3.3). Finally, I describe the limitations of this study in addressing these complex environments and in producing the outcomes presented in analytical chapters (Section 3.4).

Chapters 4 to 6 are built from the collection of market stories gathered in my empirical work and develop the key arguments of this work. Each chapter is dedicated to a field of encounter – management, imaginaries and exchanges. I develop these fields from the observations, conversations and interviews I held with market traders and customers, in which they described markets' settings and infrastructures, food commerce and consumption preferences, and their observations on others sharing the market space with them. Moreover, market users referred to these aspects from their understanding of how these spaces work, how they regard themselves there, and how they build relationships with different residents and strangers encountered. I start each chapter with an introductory section setting a market scene that develops from encounters around a seafood dish popular at markets, *ceviche*. Following this, I expand on particular 'ingredients' of the local urban settings. Thus, I refer to bibliographic sources that complement the topics introduced in Chapter 2 and likewise support the arguments I build next. I organise these empirical chapters under the logic introduced in the literature review – a first section addressing responses to fragmentations from market encounters, and a second section addressing negotiations towards actions in common at these shared spaces.

Chapter 4 focuses on encounters around markets' management. I observed these operations around this field as impacted by sources of fragmentation from urban governance and the political economy of the city. Such fragmentations were expressed in the prevalence of for profit and competitive interests characterising the governance of market spaces, affecting their maintenance and collective services. From these operations, I analysed collaborations and relations of trust over the appropriation and use of marketplaces as shared resources.

Chapter 5 focuses on encounters around market imaginaries. I observed social meanings and material representations accompanying activities of food commerce and consumption as shaping these imaginaries. These reflected the unequal visibility of residents' diversity in conceiving market services and market actors' roles. Thus, I explored collective recreations of social meanings and representations working towards the recognition of social differences, and impacting on the materialisation of markets as shared resources.

Chapter 6 is centred on encounters around market exchanges. I observed interactions, or the absence of these, among market users and these showed me the influence of privatising and segregating mechanisms in common living. In that way, individualism over sociality characterised residents' encounters in these shared spaces, despite their confluence around food products and services. From public interactions in a context of private and differentiated forms of civic relatedness, I explored connections from market exchanges and how sociality among *caseros* nurtured relations that sustained the market as a shared resource.

Chapter 7 presents the overall conclusions of this dissertation, organised in relation to the contributions raised: empirical, methodological and conceptual. It ends by outlining avenues for future research, identified from emerging discussions and knowledge gaps found. These concluding arguments contain my reflections on knowledge production and planning commitments with markets, and the need to engage these fields with market perspectives that acknowledge their roles in cities' futures and possibilities for common living.

2. Examining encounters, fragmentation and commons in urban marketplaces

“The market is nothing less than the sum of all these unlikely encounters. From my point of view, to describe what happens is to describe the meetings at the vegetable or fish stall between people who, for the most part, do not know each other and often belong to very different social milieu, but who nevertheless do interact with each other.”

(De La Pradelle, 1995, p.366)

Marketplaces have been historically immersed in urban processes of growth and change, not only by sustaining residents through their services of food and daily assets' provisioning, but also for being characteristic urban centres influencing the spatial configuration of cities (Fava et al., 2016; Guàrdia & Oyon, 2007; Panozzo, 2013; Tangires, 2008 for examples in Europe). Moreover, marketplaces are living spaces that reflect how a society experiences these urban processes. This occurs through collective and individual actions of markets' appropriation and use, and through the multiple encounters taking place alongside, as De La Pradelle (1995) referred. By reflecting the 'rhythm' of a society, these spaces result in constant adaptation and transformation, responding to dynamics of urban life (Medina & Alvarez, 2009; Medina, 2013). These qualities have made markets prevail in spite of pressures on economic growth from ruling political and economic systems, urbanisation forces, and changes in labour and consumption conditions favouring private, virtual and globalised forms of exchange (Pottie-Sherman, 2011).

Marketplaces have remained as centres that promote the economic and political engagement of residents (Spitzer & Baum, 1995); adding vitality to neighbourhoods and preserving local forms of interaction in spite of increasing

urbanisation (Mele et al., 2014). By focusing on their social roles, De La Pradelle (1995) emphasised thinking beyond economic concerns when looking at these spaces of public commingling, in order to raise in depth observations about ruling systems, and the often-hidden responses of residents in adapting to these conditions in their everyday lives. Taking these complementary perspectives, I address markets in their qualities for engaging with conflictive urban conditions and challenging the threats these set for a positive coexistence.

Positive forms of association among city residents, and their engagement with the shared urban project, may emerge from small scale negotiations at spaces of everyday commingling, as is the case with markets. These sorts of spaces may have lost interest for public gatherings or be found under uninviting conditions because of deficient administrations, but still stand given their attributes for promoting participation in diversity and overcoming fragmentations at least during brief encounters in urban living (Bridge & Watson, 2011). In this regard, the following discussions on markets in urban living evaluate the latter under Young's (1990) definition of city life as the "being together of strangers" (p.264). The author refers to city residents as strangers because these are regarded as individuals that are brought together by the urban context, and for whom ideal forms of coexistence can be envisioned. This is possible by recognising their inherent diversity of needs, backgrounds and affiliations and thinking of these as in permanent dialogue. Following Young's philosophical and political standings, contemporary urban planners and social scholars have enlightened their explorations in urban living along urbanisation processes and how these have configured modern experiences in the city, often against such ideal of being together 'in difference' (Duruz et al., 2011; Fincher, 2017). Market and urban studies under this scope have been key references for this work.

Looking at markets as spaces for living in common, I understand the space, not as a physical presence or 'container' of what occurs in the city but as a 'dimension' of coexistence, produced by relations and ongoing negotiations among participants (Massey, 2013). These are regarded as delimiting or

contesting what is shared or held as private, what is included or excluded from that being together. Moreover, the everyday is understood as the field of the ordinary operations, in which the regularity of the quotidian may hide or disregard the implicit relations and ongoing negotiations among individuals and urban elements coexisting (Agier, 2015). I attempt to go through that regularity to identify the hidden tensions and negotiations from encounters at marketplaces.

Finally, food emerges along this review and the following analysis as a central element around which residents experience encounters with others and with the city. From relevant debates in food and market studies, food is acknowledged as a powerful tool for bringing residents together beyond differences, around commerce and consumption, and also around matters of urban and everyday living that are only faced and shaped when in physical co-presence (Bell & Valentine, 1997; De La Pradelle, 2006). Thus, I raise evidence on the need for adequate spaces in which urban agents can articulate their actions, around elements that facilitate these.

This way, I have observed marketplaces in contemporary cities such as Lima through the lens of encounters as forms of being together leading to small-scale negotiations over tensions or experiences of urban fragmentation among market users. Furthermore, I evaluate encounters from the possibilities these spaces offer to develop a sense of common use and appropriation over these, and to encourage further engagements with urban living. Following these understandings, the chapter begins by expanding on the three core notions constituting this overall research framework: encounter, fragmentation and commons.

2.1 Core Notions

This section addresses the three core notions of this work under the urban debates applied to address research questions (See Section 1.1), from which key discussions and contributions are developed. The notion of encounter is presented as departing from physical intersections and leading to ongoing negotiations in urban living among residents. The notion of fragmentation is introduced as reflecting divisive conditions in urban living, shaping experiences of encounter. Finally, the notion of urban commons is introduced in order to raise renewed perspectives on spaces of shared use and access, as in the case of marketplaces, leading to collective actions and positive forms of coexistence.

a) Encounters as ongoing negotiations among residents

“It is possible to use the encounter as an epistemological strategy in comprehending how individuals and groups relate to each other in the material and political context of the city (through its built forms, its institutions, its place-based cultures). That is, people in the city may be viewed as participants in encounters, primarily, and knowledge may be built about that, rather than seeing people as individual residents of certain suburbs or kinds of housing, or as members of defined groups statically located in certain areas as the population census may depict them.”

(Fincher, 2017, p.5)

Encounters are experiences of residents’ physical intersection which, even if transient, lead to responses that surpass the moments of co-presence (Fincher, 2017). These responses may work towards stressing divisions and inequalities but may also portray contestations and fields of common action for more equal conditions in urban living. Encounters become central in residents’

definition of their connections with the city and the political community they are part of, inviting residents to discover themselves in relation to others, to exchange different visions of the urban world and aspirations for city life, and taking roles in the making of daily spaces (Watson, 2006). Moreover, material elements, such as infrastructures and objects in exchange, and intangible elements, such as politics and cultural significances, are likewise part of the moments of togetherness. Thus, in this study I acknowledge there are elements and urban conditions framing the encounters and impacting on their outcomes on residents' experiences of common living (Amin, 2012).

Following Fincher (2017), encounters are taken as tools of analysis around residents' everyday negotiations for overcoming barriers in urban living. Hence, this study acknowledges their active participation in relations and actions that are developed in the urban space and that in turn, produce it. In that sense, encounters are also understood in line with what Simone (2014) proposes for the city in the making, resulting from constant negotiations and 'orchestrations' among residents, making use of available elements for producing and securing the city as a common resource. Furthermore, to approach encounters as analytical tools on market studies, it is crucial to understand encounters in relation to how these take place and to what factors frame them, as raised above, in order to expand on the negotiations and possibilities these moments may bring for city life.

To look at experiences of encounter in the urban public sphere becomes particularly relevant nowadays given the fact that cities are placed at the centre of market-led modernization projects, favouring the consolidation of power relations, social structures and spaces of difference, while ignoring the need of possibilities for openness, interaction and sociability for city dwellers (Holston & Appadurai, 1996; Sandercock, 1998). Then, these moments are evaluated as leading to renewed logics and arrangements that could bring together pieces of fragmented cities such as Lima.

b) Fragmentation as divisive condition in urban living

“Fragmentation is a useful concept for thinking through the threats to the shared nature of urban spaces and encounters, particularly when understood in conjunction with the notion of enclosure, a term that highlights how the transformations in the urban landscape (...) are a threat to the productive potential of commons.”

(Scorer, 2016, pp. 21-22)

As raised before, residents' moments of togetherness are framed by urban factors that shape outcomes from encounters as well as the spaces where these take place. In this study, factors underlying tensions in residents' encounters are addressed in regard to sources of urban fragmentation. Following Scorer (2016), the term fragmentation has been applied to barriers or divisions experienced in urban life working against the capacities to use and access shared resources as in the case of shared spaces of everyday living. This term has been likewise key in urban studies on Latin American cities such as Lima, which have been largely described as fractured or fragmented contexts resulting from historical processes of colonisation and migration, market-led political reforms and consequent processes of urbanisation. These have been conducive to residents' unequal participation and engagement with their social and built environments (Jones, 2006). Hence, these sources of fragmentation have worked for the privilege of individual interests, hierarchies and imported 'models' of growth and against fruitful forms of inhabiting cities such as Lima (Ortiz de Zevallos, 2006).

For instance, an important consequence of overarching urbanisation forces is the loss of urban spaces where residents can nurture their engagements with the city. In that way, the prevalence or return to traditional spaces of commerce as markets can be evaluated as residents' responses to the social, economic and political configurations where they operate, as residents' claims for such possibilities to work their trajectories in the city on top of divisive urban conditions. Simone (2014) addressed these responses in his explorations on

Jakarta's urban life. He referred to residents' capacities to find ways of going through the city from their possibilities to meet around shared spaces and resources, such as those involved in everyday labour and exchange. On top of reported forms of economic and political fragmentation, Simone analysed how encountering over matters of common interest allowed residents to build relations and negotiate their individual trajectories and aspirations along others. Under Simone's perspective (2014), I approach market encounters to learn about underlying conflicts in urban living, as well as to learn about how market users develop everyday arrangements to live in common.

c) Commons and transitions from shared spaces

"Much of the capacity and actuality of people being able to operate in concert is implicit in everyday relations of negotiating space and resources, of putting together individuated and particular spaces of manoeuvre in the midst of intensely heterogeneous histories, aspirations, and practices."

(Simone, 2014, p.206)

Residents challenge fragmentations framing their living together from their independent capacities to address their economic, social and political demands. Nonetheless, in Lima as well as in main capital cities of Latin America, these independent efforts often fail in 'operat[ing] in concert', as Simone (2014) refers, in the midst of an increasing loss of spaces and projects where histories, aspirations and practices can converge. As Vega Centeno (2013) pointed out, there is a pressing need for nurturing a vision of a collective urban future, where residents "can assert themselves or identify as part of this rich cultural and social mosaic and learn to live together day to day within their multiple differences" (p. 141). Envisioning such a future, invites us to envision urban spaces and the city, as a whole, as common resources or urban commons. Under this perspective and following public policy discussions and research-practice contributions on urban commons (Foster & Iaione, 2016), this study analyses marketplaces in their qualities for residents' convergence,

and as shared spaces that can bring about transitions to common urban futures.

The notion of commons started to be applied in the literature on economics to refer to resources that are of common use and access, initially referring to rural communities and shared goods, and which have brought about discussions on related conflicts in the administration of those 'common pool resources' (Ostrom, 1990). The economic approach has been adopted by urban discussions which place the understanding of urban commons on material or immaterial resources over which people can act in common. Acting in common, or 'commoning', brings about possibilities for residents to actively participate in the management and destiny of shared spaces, and of the city as a whole (Scorer, 2016). Because of the qualities of streets, parks and plazas to be shared spaces, of collective participation and engagement, academics in urban and governance studies have analysed these as urban commons (Kornberger & Borch, 2015) or as nurturing a sense of commons over such spaces (Amin, 2008).

Acknowledging marketplaces fall under these conditions, I analyse these spaces applying such lens over their open use and access in my research framework. The following debates and research agenda touching upon urban commons are mainly centred on exploring markets' possibilities for being together and building engagements in urban living. In that regard, I refer to markets as common spaces and move on to identify common actions from everyday encounters.

I focus on the dimensions or fields of encounter that emerged as mainly hosting responses and negotiations over tensions experienced at marketplaces, as experiences of urban fragmentation. These are markets' management, market imaginaries and market exchanges. Likewise, these dimensions allowed for the analysis of conditions working towards sustaining markets as common spaces. These dimensions were identified from the empirical study as well as from the literature on market studies, based on markets' evolution and functions from urban cases around the globe.

Hence, while feeding research outputs, these core notions have been addressed as interrelated concepts, following the key enquiries defined for this research. In that intention, key topics and debates for these enquiries are organised according to three fields of encounter. These are next introduced in two sections. First, I refer to debates on urban fragmentations, mainly in the Latin American context, and address marketplaces as spaces of response to these divisions (Section 2.2). Next, I refer to debates on urban commons to explore encounters at marketplaces as bringing about negotiations for the shared use and access of these spaces (Section 2.3).

To analyse and discuss the fields of encounter raised in this work I followed three aspects immersed in everyday negotiations: private operations and interests; unequal visibility (and popularity) of expressions of diversity; and missing or avoided interactions. These aspects have been likewise reported in studies on urban living and urban commons and intersect with reports on markets' qualities and functions in contemporary cities. These could be translated into observable actions and thus facilitated the analysis of the empirical data informing this research.

Topics addressed in the literature review on marketplaces are documented in reference to local and global urban processes, building connections and expanding the analysis on the particular 'ingredients' found at Lima's markets. In that intention, cases of global marketplaces and food related spaces are also introduced to portray residents' responses to fragmentation in those localities. This review seeks to shed light on current and future processes of change at Lima's markets, acknowledging the global linkages as well to those processes of which these sites are immersed.

2.2 Market encounters: Responding to fragmentations

In the review below, I situate the fields of encounter of markets' management, market imaginaries and market exchanges in relation to main sources of urban fragmentation conditioning these: market-led urban governance, unassimilated social differences, and weakened relatedness among urban residents. In that intention, I introduce markets in relation to aspects that reflect forms of fragmentation from the urban environment - from its social, material and spatial configuration – and impact on everyday dynamics at markets. Following these topics, I refer to urban discussions and cases that can open an agenda on possible negotiations in urban living from these sites.

Regarding markets' management, I look at how operations in management and use of these sites have been influenced by market-led imperatives in urban governance. In that sense, I expand on how these operations are determined by private or individual interventions, and under private and not collective interests, despite the shared nature of these commercial spaces. For market imaginaries, I look at visible expressions of diversity, in the form of images and material representations of the social standings of agents converging at markets. These reveal unassimilated aspects of the sociocultural diversity inhabiting cities. In this respect, I address the unequal recognition of sociocultural differences in urban imaginaries, and the likewise unequal participation of urban agents in the materialisation of shared spaces. Finally, for market exchanges, I look at public interactions at markets and how these reflect a weakened relatedness among urban residents. I describe how social relations are affected by private and profit-making imperatives in daily actions of subsistence, and by social differentiations limiting the access and participation in shared spaces and resources. Table 2 summarises the approach and lines reviewed in this section:

Fields of encounter	Responding to sources of fragmentation	Sources of fragmentation
Markets' management	Private operations in management and use	Market-led urban governance
Market imaginaries	Unequal visibility (and popularity) of expressions of diversity	Unassimilated social differences
Market exchanges	Missing or avoided interactions	Weakened civic relatedness

**Table 2. How do market encounters respond to urban fragmentations?
Situating encounters in urban frames.**

2.2.1 Markets' Management: private operations in management and use

“Peruvians with little resources, among them the majority of market traders and street vendors, were worried about the initiatives to modernise the economy ignoring the little protection of their land properties and looking for private solutions to solve social problems. It was being eliminated the whole network of public security they had before.”

*(Babb, 2008, p. 17 – in reference to the Central market of Huaraz, highland city in Peru.
Own translation)*

Management operations under market-led urban governance

Markets are centres of political and economic participation given their functioning as local sources of economic purpose (Morales, 2010). From this participation, residents can develop ‘rules of engagement’ (Hiebert et al., 2015) with the city and other urban agents likewise engaged. Moreover, marketplaces are largely addressed in urban studies for their qualities as spaces of the public realm. Openness for residents’ encounters is a central

quality of this sort of spaces (Merrifield, 2012) and it is under this scope that markets have been described, in terms of the opportunities these provide for daily engaging with urban living, and for experiencing and contesting the urban context. For instance, everyday operations at open spaces can be interpreted as ways of challenging privatising logics leading to the loss of shared, collaborative and convivial forms of inhabiting the city (Amin, 2008). Applying the previous understandings to markets, this work focuses on operations of production, consumption and exchange that are regarded as presenting possibilities for encountering and contesting urban fragmentation. These operations emerge as negotiated 'tactics' for sharing the city in the everyday (De Certeau et al., 1998).

Moreover, this study addresses marketplaces' functioning facing everyday struggles from market-led governance operations. This sort of governance regulations were implemented in Latin American cities during the last decades of the 20th century, introducing privatising transitions and changing roles for the public sector, as well as new priorities in urbanisation processes and urban productivity. The initiatives to modernise the economy to which Babb (2008) referred above point at reforms that transformed the political economy of Peru and were connected to broader political processes. Globally, the 1980s marked the start of economic reforms that responded to demands on new governance models over those concentrating control over basic services. These reforms were introduced along with the intensification of economic transactions across nations, which were reshaping not only local economies, but also territorial configurations that sustained global processes of urbanisation (Brenner & Schmid, 2015).

In Latin America, new regulations on the political economy were most strongly implemented from the 1990s and represented the cut of State functions through the privatisation of their entities, which reduced their responsibilities in the administration and distribution of basic services and resources. Nonetheless, the consolidating market-led development model of governance in time reflected failures in functions and the delivery of these services at local and national levels. In most Latin American countries, market-led policies

implied the cut of social services, which were not followed by a similar level of public reinvestment in addressing public demands (Peters & Skop, 2007). These conditions stressed divisions and sources of conflict among residents and the spheres concentrating political and economic powers (Janoschka, 2002).

National and foreign private actors acquired rights in the distribution of public services such as those providing urban infrastructure, food provisioning, health and transport. As part of market-led logics of governance, these services were mostly self-regulated, given public actors had undertaken inefficient procedures for their control. It has been for instance reflected in reduced functions from municipal authorities in the surveillance of privatised services (Peters & Skop, 2007). Likewise, modernisation of national economies implied to reinstitute negotiations with foreign founders and investors. This way the private sector was consolidated as a stakeholder of great political power (Ludeña, 2010). Under these conditions, supermarkets and malls of national and international firms found a favourable environment for their expansion. Also under these conditions, the introduction of privatisation laws was encouraged and largely affected markets in the contexts covered in this study.

Furthermore, growth processes of Latin American cities reflect the privatisation of its spaces and the unequal distribution of opportunities for everyday living, dwelling and working (Stillerman, 2006a). Powerful actors from private and public sectors have been able to influence the establishment of policies shaping the local labour and entrepreneurial environment, towards securing economic gains for privileged circles and affecting residents' rights over public resources. National authorities have undertaken very limited actions in securing employment and livelihoods for local residents. Thus, in addition to the privatisation of public spaces and services, rights and freedoms over economic operations, as labour conditions and commercial exchanges for basic provisioning, have been left to the free will of private contractors and to the rules of self-regulated economic systems. This was observed in the flexibilisation of labour contracts in favour of employers and mass layoffs from

privatised entities (Joseph et al., 2008), as well as economic transactions regulated by business offer and consumer demand.

Private over collective purposes in management operations

In that way, market-led regimes of governance have reinforced an urban ethos of private economic and political participation. It is economic power that has dominated in securing rights and benefits over spaces, resources and associated uses. In everyday life, a private and profit-making imperative has been reflected in individual performances and distrust among residents that have undermined collective purposes on which city dwellers may collaborate or identify with (Cánepa, 2012). Contemporary processes of urban growth are led by a privatising imperative that underlies current forms of governance, the distribution of physical spaces and urban processes of social order. These aspects point as well to the lack of urban development plans, the absent interests on spaces for the public, and the still missing involvement of private and civil society sectors in building synergies and negotiating common visions of the city (Vega Centeno, 2014). Urban governance frameworks have not been inclusive for residents' participation and have encouraged unfair competitiveness or favouritism in securing independent economic opportunities (Caravedo, 2013). In that sense, competitiveness did not bring about equal opportunities for participating in the free-market economy, but the opposite, especially for small entrepreneurs, as is the case of market vendors. Hence, residents from Latin American cities were finding alternative sources of income in small commerce, as well as in enterprises out of formal economic systems (Muñoz & Rodríguez, 1999; Stillerman, 2006b).

These conditions are observed in the management and regulation of markets, and although privatising interventions have often worked for securing their survival, in cases these changes have implied the exclusion of urban actors from these spaces. Medina and Alvarez (2009) raised examples of private organisation and response to market-led urban development in regard to emblematic markets. The authors analysed the private management of San

Telmo market, in Buenos Aires, and its effects in the connected residential area. Introducing changes in the market building and encouraging new ventures, commercial operations at the market are becoming highly profitable. Nonetheless, these changes also bring about pressures over commercial and communal activities at the market and adjacent areas – for instance, over old traders and the unequal conditions in which they compete with new businesses, and over neighbours facing increasing rents and infrastructural changes in the neighbourhood for touristic rather than civic purposes. Residents of the market area have organised for defending their neighbourhood over these pressures and contesting private interventions (See Figure 2.1). Thus, privatising processes are replicated in the appropriation and everyday use of the urban territory and does not necessarily reflect fair negotiations in the provisioning of services and wellbeing opportunities to residents across social groups (Vega Centeno, 2017).



Figure 2.1 Private over collective purposes in markets' management.
Antiques stores at Mercado de San Telmo (San Telmo Market).
Buenos Aires. April, 2012

The market is privately owned and undergoing transformations to host new and more profitable businesses, as in the case of antiquities and vintage items that have made of it a landmark for touristic activities.

Residents have evaluated cities' advancement or backwardness, in relation to what is expected to be encountered and have moved to engage with spaces responding to their "late-modern sensibilities", as Bell (2002) described contemporary practices of city living, such as residents' differentiation through food consumption. In that urban making, it should also be acknowledged how the culture of modernity highly influences residents' interventions and expectations on contemporary experiences of urban life. Modernity, understood as "the cultural experience of contemporary city life and the associated cultural valorisation and celebration of innovation and novelty" (Robinson, 2006, p.4), has been largely determined by Western models of urban development. However, the not applicability of these models of modernity, under the political and economic settings of Peru and the Latin American region, may bring about conflictive outcomes instead.

Facing struggles in governance and economic sustainability, marketplaces have been largely missed in this conceptualisation of innovation and novelty in modern living. Instead, supermarkets have responded to those visions on modernity and their expansion has been prioritized in municipal interventions, reinforcing dynamics of enclosed public life (Municipalidad de Miraflores, 2007). Residents, in their roles of consumers, may find private services compensating for the failures of absent public interventions for improving public spaces and services. Moreover, private operations in governance are seen as responding to those demands on modernity in urban living (Filgueiras, 2009). At the same time, these conditions have reinforced the private as the synonym for comfort, improvement, and efficacy in opposition to what is public and shared in appropriation and use.

For other realms of everyday living, Janoschka (2002) described how residents of Buenos Aires have preferred to rely on private forms of organisation to respond to their living demands, following market-led reforms in urban governance. The author raised the example of the enclosure and private security measures undertaken by Buenos Aires neighbours to protect their properties and areas of everyday activity, facing the absence of public authorities in the regulation of urban growth and the provisioning of basic

services. Hence, modern reforms have been translated into processes of urbanisation that “are symptomatic of a governance regime in which market imperatives and market “disciplines” are pre - eminent in all areas of life” (Bridge & Watson, 2011, p.8). It is in this context that marketplaces operate and where traders and customers’ encounters are situated, negotiating their operations and engagements with the common space.

Nonetheless, even if market-led processes have set the pace of urban growth and modern urban living, the specificities of every urban context have delimited the extent to which cities have adapted or contested such influences, particularly from the role exerted by residents in shaping these through their everyday spaces, practices and interactions (Simone, 2014). As Low (2005) notes for spaces of the public realm, their conception and purpose are changing but the various actors involved in their operation may redefine the use and openness of these spaces. In that way, everyday users may ensure these remain as shared resources. This can occur over conflicts between private and public interests in urban governance, inequalities in the access to urban services as well as rising disengagements and distrust on what is public.

From the challenges and opportunities raised by everyday encounters, these sorts of local places may as well contribute to their corresponding local and national governance agendas (Watson & Studdert, 2006). Hence, encounters, taking place along with operations underlying markets’ management and functioning, express the close relations of these sites with the political economy of cities but also with their societies and how individuals define their participation and aspirations in urban living. In that sense, operating in common spaces opens possibilities for residents to encounter and negotiate understandings and actions around shared spaces and resources.

2.2.2 Market Imaginaries: unequal visibility of expressions of diversity

“Lima, which was the centre of dominant creole classes who lived behind the back and at the expense of the country, is today a great city of strangers. People of different languages and cultures, coming from all the corners of the national territory, combining at the same time in the search of a new type of urban collective, transforming the face of the city.”

(Günther, 1992 in Rivera Martínez, 2002, p. 109 – own translation)

Unequal visibility and recognition in spaces of diversity

The sociocultural composition of marketplaces, as well as the political and economic operating conditions, are spatially specific. The diversity of actors closely involved in their making shape these specificities through the efforts and perspectives they put into these spaces (Hiebert et al., 2015). However, the encounter of this diversity in action is not necessarily acknowledged in everyday operations. There are social differences or ‘labels’ affecting the visibility or invisibility of residents being together at shared spaces as markets. Visibility in this sense denotes a form of recognition as an active participant in that being together, and implies to overcome forms of ‘invisibility’, such as being avoided, or being identified as not belonging or out of place (Fincher, 2017). In this regard, the concept of visibility has been useful in this research for identifying differentiations among those gaining recognition in the making of markets, in their social and physical construction as spaces for living in common.

Residents use notions, or ‘labels’, to define their identifications and relations with others, and to place themselves in relation to those with whom they share the urban space. As Fincher (2017) described, labels attached to individuals and groups in society work as pre-determined differences – such as affiliation, origin, identity and status – characterising residents’ encounters, interactions

and possibilities for building together the urban spaces they share under “interests-in-common” (p.1). These differences are not actually fixed but as fluid as residents’ trajectories in the city. Nonetheless, these work for defining residents’ differentiated standings in urban relations and for their recognition as active agents in city living (Fraser, 2000). In the everyday use of these ‘labels’, individuals shape their operations and relations with others, departing from notions of commonality or facing social barriers denoting the segregation or not recognition of different others as agents in the everyday making of the city. This is the approach developed in this field of encounter.

In Latin American cities as Lima, these social barriers can be identified from the foundation of the sociocultural diversity inhabiting them, and the conflictive assimilation of social differences into cities today made of ‘strangers’ (Günther, 1992 in Rivera Martínez, 2002). This diversity is mainly the result of historical processes of colonialism, internal migration and population growth after postcolonial and neoliberal reconfigurations. The second half of the 20th century was characterised by subsequent dictatorships, the introduction of political and economic reforms mentioned above, and reduced possibilities of subsistence in rural areas that together compelled nationals to mobilise towards capital cities. Moreover, economic and political structures have determined cities’ expansion and conditions over the use of the urban space (Jones, 1994). Urban growth dynamics, shaping urban governance, economic systems and access to the city, contribute to social fragmentation through their segregating impacts, for instance in the distribution of urban services that reinforce the sociocultural configurations and differentiated visibility in which residents are recognised (Joseph et al., 2008). Hence, urban processes setting the pace of physical, material and economic growth also appear as working against the assimilation of residents in their diversity of backgrounds and multiplicity of aspirations into the city as collective and common ground.

Facing this divided context, differentiations of status and origin are strong among residents. For example, indicators as place of residence and type of consumption are also applied in building divisions and used by residents in securing their visibility and recognition as agents in the city (Ames, 2014).

Adding to these social tensions, processes of globalisation and encounter with arriving new cultures have built and reworked social differences among city residents. These aspects constitute the challenges for assimilating the diversity of strangers coexisting in Latin American capital cities (Borsdorf & Hidalgo, 2010; Gorelik, 2005). These are also the challenges emerging along this work.

Visible expressions of diversity and unassimilated social differences

The convergence of different identities and trajectories in cities reveal tensions and negotiations over the assimilation and recognition of residents' diversity in the city's common ground (Young, 1990). These tensions become explicit in everyday experiences along different others, sharing spaces of the urban context under differentiated possibilities for participating and engaging with these spaces (Protzel de Amat, 2011). Differences among residents become expressed in the cultures of cities. Meanings, values and stories, as well as visible elements as images and symbols (Young, 1990) compose those sociocultural expressions towards diversity. Moreover, residents provide significances to those who participate with them in urban spaces and extend these significances to other elements conforming these shared realms. This way, resulting imaginaries of city living impact on shared experiences of living together. Such imaginaries likewise contribute to the materialisation of the shared ground, and hence, to the construction or contestation of barriers among residents (Scorer, 2016).

Imaginaries and the visibility of residents are evaluated in this work through the meanings and materialised representations expressing social barriers and defining encounters in everyday life. Such sociocultural constructions determine the recognition of those participating in the city and this way, also take part in residents' encounters and possible actions in common. Under urban systems of social difference, these experiences of togetherness inform residents of the divisions or negotiations they must face for accessing shared spaces and resources. Thus, encounters allow for the identification of key

aspects presupposing or mediating residents' proneness or avoidance of being and acting together, as Black (2012) raised from her observations on encounters around food at markets.

As identified in other studies on markets, the accessibility of participation in economic activities at these sites has facilitated the inclusion of migrant groups finding suitable livelihoods in the city hosting them. In that sense, Duruz et al. (2011) described markets in postcolonial cities "as hybrid spaces (...) where different ethnic groups come into contact through everyday activity" (p. 601) where newly settled residents introduce traditions and particular configurations to the spaces of commerce and negotiate in that course social differences and their assimilation as active participants in the city. Nonetheless, traders have often been associated with the poverty conditions or improvised settings linked to market sites, or to the migratory sources of the items on sale. This has been the case for Lima as well as urban contexts strongly marked by migration processes.

Notions on difference, manifested in forms of unequal treatment and segregation, are reworked from urban practices and relations. This is the case of meanings attached to customers through their consumption practices. For instance, De La Pradelle (1995) portrayed customer profiles at Carpentras in reference to the items, prices and chosen atmosphere for exchange, identifying their social and economic situations. Moreover, the consolidation of new 'middle classes' in urban socioeconomic systems has reflected the varied trajectories undertaken by residents to align to contemporary forms of visibility, through practices of distinction and social mobility (Bell, 2002). Likewise, there might be reworked notions on spaces associated with diversity and poverty, as markets but also urban settlements. There are examples of interventions for recovering these locations that at the same time work for commodifying cultural values, as those around food consumption, and turning these into profitable and 'trendy' elements of consumption. In Brazil, Jones (2011) reported this process in *favela* (slum) 'chic' designs and the renewed cultural and economic valorisation of landscapes in Rio's slums. In that way, imaginaries of modernity add up to processes of urban growth, shaping living

environment and influencing residents' expectations and interventions on common spaces (See Figure 2.2).



Figure 2.2 Expressions of diversity shaping market imaginaries.
Restaurants at Mercado Municipal de São Paulo (Municipal Market).
São Paulo. January, 2012

São Paulo's municipal market was renovated with the intention of revaluing the old municipal building and turning it into a landmark of tradition and diversity for the city (IADB, 2003). This is an example of investments for recovering public spaces with strong cultural components underlying commercial reactivations.

In her approach to markets in Cusco, a city in the Peruvian highlands, Seligmann (2015) described residents' attempts to challenge systems of social difference by defining with whom they establish social relations or portray proximity in their activities. Thus, market users may build relations in the intention of being recognised as better educated and knowledgeable, for instance from living and working alongside individuals that may reinforce such characteristics. The legacy of systems of segregation, for instance from

processes of colonialism and internal migration as in Peru, raises challenges to overcome meanings and representations on social status. In turn, these shape labels on residents as market traders, strongly identified as poor and migrant. Nonetheless, in the ongoing production of social and material expressions on difference, the coexistence of residents with diverse sociocultural backgrounds and trajectories of social mobility may open possibilities for contestations to residents' unequal recognition in the city, shaping market imaginaries and encounters.

In the rebuilding of relations and meanings on diversity, mixed cultural expressions can be likewise found as forms of assimilating or reaffirming divisions among residents. This has been the case of Lima, as well as other culinary capitals, where gastronomic interests have reflected desires and expectations for wellbeing and recognition in urban living (Rockower, 2012). Nonetheless, as Martigny (2010) described for the French context, these trends are backed by discourses and interventions from elite figures, authorities and media, consolidated as references of social status. In spite of carrying messages for the public, culinary discourses and associated practices are adopted as markers of status given these encourage the consumption of foodstuffs, places and practices as symbols of distinction, high living standards or modern lifestyles. Therefore, these may also encourage the differentiation towards others who may not afford the desired products, given the consequent increase in commercial values of products or the costs for accessing the spaces where these offers are available (Hernández, 2014).

Changing trends in consumption, as well as changing lifestyles and ideals of wellbeing have impacted on the urban and sociocultural frameworks conferring meanings to food, and thus have also influenced the significances assigned to spaces and operations for its exchange and consumption (Fischler, 1988; Fischler, 2011). These aspects also allow for interventions that may end up reorganising the urban space, as well as its functions for residents' social and physical convergence, under a governance framework that supports non-collective visions and purposes, and sociocultural systems that reinforce individualities over collective senses.

Thus, fragmentations derived from diversity may also become expressed in the urban configuration, through social differences that are translated in the access and production of 'hybrid' (Duruz et al., 2011) or segregating urban spaces. Spaces of food exchange can be regarded as carrying material representations of meanings and values on such social differences. This way, cultural and material representations making diversity and social differences visible can reflect tensions, but potentially, also renegotiations of collective visions on the city.

2.2.3 Market Exchanges: missing or avoided interactions

"The relevance acquired by shopping centres as relational spaces should not make us forget that the essence of public spaces is built on human presence, the free encounter over a space that is shared and which at the same time belongs to all."

(Vega Centeno, 2013, p. 136)

Missing interactions and urban connections

Marketplaces are spaces of connection with urban living through often brief but transcendental civic experiences at these sites (De La Pradelle, 1995). In these moments, diverse individuals are exposed to likewise diverse forms of connecting to the urban context and to what constitutes the common ground. The moments and spaces for encountering in the city allow residents to shape their relations among them and with the urban context, its governing systems, its social and material arrangements, as well as the sources of fragmentation impacting on experiences of living in common. Moreover, these possibilities for relating offer opportunities to reshape the given conditions for their coexistence. Despite the challenges for residents' relatedness brought about by contemporary cities - to which Vega Centeno (2013) referred above - markets still "act as lures to concentrate attention and effort" (Simone, 2014, p.206) for residents to build their own and collective stories in the city.

In addition to management operations and sociocultural expressions characterising markets, this study addresses exchanges and interactions among market users. In this sense, experiences of togetherness at markets are regarded as connecting residents with their shared environment. These experiences of urban life at markets reflect particularities of cities in terms of relations and processes that influence their everyday making, particularities that individuals assimilate as characterising these domains and about which can take more active engagements. In this respect, markets' implications in social connections are shaped in relation to the specific context where these operate (Mele et al., 2014). In such way, these various views and concerns on common spaces take multiple particularities within the 'distinctiveness' of cities, from the distinctiveness of urban spaces, the social and political context and the priorities and local needs these address (Robinson, 2006).

Given that market dynamics reflect urban dynamics, these may present restrictions for residents to converge and operate in common or may raise evidence on systems of inclusion and exclusion from the shared urban ground. For instance, the physical layout of markets brings people in proximity and is acknowledged as facilitating relatedness and interaction, especially when the availability of spaces to spend time and mingle with other residents is scarce (Watson, 2009). Nonetheless, proximity does not necessarily lead to interaction and divisions among residents may come on top of agreeable forms of commingling. But even if not experiencing agreeable encounters and interactions, people operate ensuring certain level of connection with others in order to participate in the making of their living environments. Commerce and consumption activities, although responding to private and differentiated interests, still work for bringing people together around shared purposes. These are opportunities this study addresses, despite the tensions deriving from processes leading to weakened relatedness and negotiations for common living among urban agents.

Interactions in spaces of private interests and social differences

Urban growth impacts on how city residents carry on with everyday challenges, but it also affects how they develop connections with the shared urban project, thus producing and reinforcing social fractures. The urbanisation context threatens what is open and common, for instance, by privileging the spread of private locations of encounter, as in the case of supermarkets and malls. The sense of the public space has moved to these enclosed sites, as Vega Centeno (2013) describes for Lima, where residents maintain the individuality of their actions in a spatial and social configuration that does not privilege direct interactions. In this same context, there is a reduced availability of spaces for public and unplanned commingling, such as markets, squares and green areas (Lima Cómo Vamos, 2016; Ministerio de Vivienda, Construcción y Saneamiento del Perú, 2016). This way, urbanisation processes point at urban life evolving under the conditions brought about by 'neoliberal city' projects and translated in the way contemporary urbanism has developed in opposition to city residents' needs and claims on common living (Amin, 2006).

Moreover, the privatisation of public spaces can be observed in the widescale adaptation of streets for cars, reducing possibilities for walking or for other means of mobility. Urban growth, in opposition to walkable and accessible cities, represents a threat for public living in many cities around the world, and also a challenge for market operations. Black (2012) studied quotidian dynamics at Porta Palazzo market in Turin, Italy, and in her observations, the author raises the privatisation of street dynamics and the increasing presence of automobiles in market surroundings as representing the individualisation of urban practices and antisocial behaviour. Following these aspects, the author realised that "(m)arkets are one of the few places in the public sphere that are conducive to sociability. (...) If the automobile is an individualising and antisocial element in the city, the market is its opposite – people are thrown together in a shared space, rather than compartmentalised" (Black, 2012, p. 173). Placing vehicular rather than pedestrian circulation first, urbanisation dynamics in Turin as well as in Lima have ended up restricting places originally

conceived for public and shared use and encounter, as in the case of streets in market surroundings.

The absence of civic relations and connections with urban assets held in common is also rooted in relations of distrust among residents, in social environments where collaborations in the use and access to common resources and spaces is absent. This environment has been reported as characterising the political and economic panorama in Latin American cities during years of market-led reforms, where competitiveness in securing livelihoods and paths to social mobility was strengthened over the development of civic connections (Muñoz & Rodriguez, 1999; Portes & Roberts, 2005). Social life in privatised spaces presents less possibilities for residents for being together and renegotiate sources of fragmentation from these governance and economic processes (See Figure 2.3). This restricted accessibility to urban spaces and services adds to everyday struggles of city residents (Protsel de Amat, 2011).



Figure 2.3 Interactions and experience of urban tensions from market exchanges.

View of Mercado Campesino (Farmers' Market) organised at Plaza Bolívar, main square in historical centre. Bogota. February, 2011

Spaces of intense residents' circulation work for bringing people together, sharing activities – as in market exchanges - as well as experiences of urban barriers. These spaces also host negotiations over needs of recognition and participation in the city.

Emerging tensions are put in evidence in the openness of the public realm. In this sphere, urban life, as noted by Amin (2006) is characterised by expressions of distrust as well as fear of strangers. Fear and detachment from strangers emerge from tensions on social differences that become explicit in public spaces of commingling as those in which food is exchanged (Everts & Jackson, 2009). Moments of co-presence in difference are then characterised by individual practices that reflect residents' tendency to avoid moments of commensality in public, losing practices of socialisation as well that are inherent in urban living (Fischler, 2011). These social divisions have discouraged residents from undertaking engagements with the public sphere.

In this sense, commercial and social exchanges, as those at marketplaces, may bring about representations of the increasing disassociation of individuals to the functioning of urban spaces and to different residents operating along. Moreover, city living is characterised by the avoidance of mixing or associating with strangers from identified different backgrounds, the perception of collective actions as threats to the public, and often, indifference towards claims and needs of diverse residents (Protzel de Amat, 2011). The differentiated assimilation of residents in their diversity of backgrounds, trajectories and affiliations into the imperatives of the modern city restrain their freedoms to participate in the urban context and the availability of means to claim for it. This is observed in the increasing loss of spaces for public socialisation, political participation and recreation (Cánepa, 2012).

Markets allow to explore social relations and interactions bringing about renegotiations of tensions as the 'fear of strangers' or on individualism over cooperation and trust among residents. Even if moments of co-presence do not necessarily lead to convivial encounters, these may open unplanned ways to challenge conditions of the context reinforcing social tensions (Fincher, 2003; Valentine, 2008). Hence, it urges the recovery of spaces in which common visions on the city can be renegotiated through connections among multiple and diverse strangers, around likewise multiple possibilities for interacting and engaging daily among them. Such situations of human activity and bodily experience of the urban counteract others leading to the degradation of the city and allow residents to develop a shared sense over the various and complex fields shaping city life.

2.3 Market encounters: Shaping common spaces

In this section, I explore negotiations encouraged from encountering under the realms and conditions of fragmentation introduced before (Section 2.2). From the references addressed, I first explore these negotiations as leading towards nurturing a sense of commons on shared urban spaces. This implies developing shared purposes on markets' uses and functions, and from these, to undertake common actions for the making and sustainability of spaces for living in common. In that intention, I continue by bringing about discussions and cases from which I can expand on actions of collaboration in markets' management, collective recreation of market imaginaries, and connection from market exchanges.

From markets' management, I look at operations of governance and commerce at these sites as allowing for activities of shared interest and benefit, in which a collective of agents can find room to collaborate and counteract the effects of private interventions in management and use. From market imaginaries, I look at expressions of diversity in the materialisation of markets that may work to make visible the diversity of actors converging at these sites. Moreover, I regard this visibility of diverse expressions as resulting from the collective recreation of urban conditions that impact on residents' participation and recognition in the shared space and city. Finally, from market exchanges, I look at the capacity to interact in public and open spaces as markets as reflecting evolving connections among residents. These connections are evaluated on top of private and profit-making imperatives over collective purposes, and social differentiations working against the access and participation in shared spaces and resources. Table 3 summarises the approach and lines reviewed in this section:

Fields of encounter	Shaping common spaces	Values and common actions
Markets' management	Collective operations	Trust and collaboration in markets' management
Market imaginaries	Visible expressions of diversity	Recognition and collective recreation of market imaginaries
Market exchanges	Public interactions	Sociality and connection from market exchanges

**Table 3. How do encounters shape marketplaces as common spaces?
Exploring encounters and possibilities in urban life.**

2.3.1 Markets' management: Collective operations

“Markets epitomize public participation in planning and public service provision and collaboration among planners, allied professionals, and the public is vitally important in planning, implementing, practicing, and evaluating marketplaces. (...) Thus, planners deploying markets as policy tools will do well to recall both the many ways people use markets and the expertise people bring to the activities in which they engage.”

(Morales, 2011, p.11)

Operations for collective over private purposes

As Morales (2011) stated, markets are centres of convergence for urban actors to collaborate in rethinking and remaking the city. Under this vision, this study has explored ways in which traders and customers could find collaborations, or not, in maintaining markets as spaces in common. Looking at spaces for being together and for living in common, the centrality of residents' participation in the making of the city emerges from the collective making of city politics to the forms these politics take in the built environment. The prevalence or recovery of common spaces is achieved from urban agents'

operations impacting on their governance, from public authorities and private agents' influential roles, to residents' uses and claims over these shared resources.

Envisioning markets as common spaces, these can be observed from the confluence of residents encountering along operations over shared grounds and resources, negotiating as well common purposes over these. These negotiations compel residents to engage with concerns to secure the common use and access to these spaces:

“The point is that the kind of open spaces, or commons, that are an essential part of cities and that give cities much of their value can be contested in ways that require rethinking the governance and management of those spaces.” (Foster & Iaione, 2016, p.299)

In such way, from management and commercial operations at marketplaces, residents negotiate interests around the shared resources, and allow for collaborations to take place along commonalities encountered. From these shared actions, individuals define the values and gains that make common spaces and create opportunities for being together and engaging with actions in common (Kornberger & Borch, 2015). But invitations to common actions require effective arrangements for connecting the diversity of urban actors with shared urban projects, negotiating private interests and relations of distrust and fostering their economic and political involvement for the continuation of common spaces as marketplaces (Simone, 2014).

Nonetheless, scarce efforts on the maintenance of spaces of open access as marketplaces reveal how the intrinsic relations among people and urban spaces' governance are often overlooked, as well as the political and economic turns and benefits these relations may have. This situation is characteristic of urban contexts reinforcing privatisation and exclusion even at the expense of cities' endurance. In the case of markets, being of public use and appropriation, conflicts in their management have been dealt through their privatisation, in order to place control on private interests and enhance

productive and financial outcomes, even if these purposes implied changing the open nature and collective services of these spaces.

Developing management collaborations

In spite of governance threats to marketplaces' survival, there are cases of urban governments undertaking major projects for the recovery of old marketplaces or the establishment of new sites, through explicit collaborations of public, private and civic actors, or by aligning the interventions to combined purposes and participations. Some projects of renovation have referred to the roles that markets accomplish for city life, and their outcomes have been likewise associated with encouraging the increased participation and engagement on common activities and spaces. To a large extent, what has mostly set the success in civic terms for these projects has been the planning backing these, which has included the evaluation of how these sites are connected with the city and local economies. Moreover, the involvement of main users has been emphasised through continuous activities facilitating the communication and articulation of these various actors (Project for Public Spaces, 2003).

Barcelona for instance, is a global referent in markets' management and revival. The renewal of public markets has been implemented as a long-term project, developed by the Markets' Municipal Institute (Institut Municipal de Mercats – IMMB) which is in charge of managing the market system (See Figure 2.4). The city counts 43 municipal markets which have been progressively renovated since 1992 (Institut de Mercats de Barcelona, 2015). For these renovations, the city council reaches an agreement with vendors to take part in the financing and include supermarkets as third partners of these large investments. Then, municipal authorities have developed management arrangements, based on the qualities of market services and forms of operating, bringing together urban agents that support improvements and the continuation of these sites (Costa et al., 2015).



Figure 2.4 Public – private collaborations in market operations.
Public – private partnership for the renewal of Mercat del Ninot (Ninot Market)
Barcelona. September, 2015

Renewed market buildings have been funded by implementing a partnership strategy between the municipality, traders and supermarkets. The latter acquire an adjacent space to operate next to markets (see Mercadona on ground floor).

Although this strategy has worked for carrying out the renovation of the majority of markets, there are also examples in which economic pressures have challenged municipal interventions. For instance, La Boquería market, in the heart of Barcelona, experiences touristic pressures that have delineated market activities out of civic purposes, pushing out old customers (Hernández & Andreeva, 2016). Examples of this sort can also be identified for Buenos Aires, as mentioned above for the case of San Telmo, and for London, in which the renewal of central and emblematic markets has led to growing commercial opportunities but to the subsequent commercial gentrification of these locations (Gonzalez & Waley, 2013; Medina & Alvarez, 2009). In these sorts

of experiences, urban renewal has led to increasing commercial values of products and lands, turning these sites into drivers of gentrification processes – creating new private spaces, working against residents' engagements with these (Zukin, 2008).

Commercial interests and values at stake can discourage regular users from getting involved with the shared space. Modernisation processes affect residents or consumers of renovated urban spaces in their capacities to engage with spaces responding to their daily needs or dynamics – as has occurred under gentrification forces. These may also affect old traders in the sense of pushing them out of their working spaces because of the increasing costs of maintaining their rents and livelihoods and may force them to the informal or illegal appropriation of vending spaces (Semi, 2009). In these cases, what has often prevailed is the recognition of markets' economic roles in encouraging food consumption, tourism activities and the regeneration of markets' surrounding areas. Hence, instead of encouraging their potential in opening inclusive and convivial spaces in the city, the revitalization of these centres can work for protecting private or external interests and not those of residents.

Facing these conflicts, there are cases in which market users have fought against gentrifying interventions, as has occurred for markets in cities such as Madrid, at San Fernando Market, and Leeds, at Kirkgate Market. In these cases, traders and customers have defended these spaces as symbols of their affiliations and aspirations with the urban context, as well as spaces of possible participation in spite of systems of exclusion and fragmentation (Gonzalez & Waley, 2013). Customers' engagement has been central, for instance in preventing markets' sale and demolition. Although often disregarded, customers participate in markets, not only as consumers, but as citizens with rights over these spaces, accessing services for the public and for which they have the right to act and claim upon (De La Pradelle, 2006).

Low (2014) documented a similar situation for Essex market in New York, in which the site was defended from redevelopment projects in the area. The market is managed by a cooperative of traders and has been largely identified as a site of international confluence. Administrators have implemented a renewed strategy for enhancing their visibility, diversifying services in order to attract broader social groups – beyond old consumers looking for international foodstuffs at the market. In other cities, governance initiatives have also brought about the voice of customers in the making of plans for the renewal, not only of markets but of broader urban areas for which markets are central.

This is the case of participatory regeneration projects in Bologna and its civic centres, as markets. A supportive public network has been central in protecting and recovering markets from urbanization processes that have undermined their roles in cities. Moreover, it has encouraged such interfaces of participation for city residents and partners from different sectors in the planning, conceptualisation and materialisation of urban spaces (Ginocchi & Tartari, 2007). The confluence of urban agents in interventions for markets' defence in international contexts allow to oversee common actions as collaborations that are yet to be recognised in the making of liveable and flourishing cities. Through collaborations, market users can operate along others and add up efforts in markets' management (Higuchi, 2015). Acting in common they can find, beyond existing barriers, opportunities for also regaining the city as vibrant, multiple and common (Fincher & Iveson, 2008).

2.3.2 Market imaginaries: Visible expressions of diversity

“My argument is that a minimal level of encounter in the form of inhabiting the same space as those who are different from oneself, such as markets can embody, has the potential to play a part in challenging racist discourses and stereotypes of unknown others.”

(Watson, 2009, p. 1582)

Expressions of diversity for social recognition

Market spaces, by hosting multiple and spontaneous encounters, are sites where residents can engage with the everyday challenging of divisive discourses, practices and urban configurations. Given these aspects, markets have been recognised as inclusive workspaces - for instance, for migrants. These offer diverse publics access to likewise diverse and affordable products, and moreover, offer openness for being together in spite of sociocultural, economic or political differences in contexts in which these possibilities are hard to find (Watson, 2009).

The material and social configurations of markets can inform how residents shape these spaces in relation to what they need and aspire from the city, and how they also shape who and what takes part in these - for instance challenging or reinforcing connotations of backwardness or segregation. The everyday can bring about negotiations on meanings, representations and residents' expectations on shared spaces (Jones, 1994). In that way, sociocultural meanings and representations giving sense to market imaginaries can be collectively recreated along the relations and uses at these common sites. In turn, these portray residents' appropriation of urban spaces and negotiations for their visibility and recognition in the everyday making of these:

“(...) contested cultural imaginaries, themselves a kind of commons, offer a window onto the equally contested construction of the urban commons (whether material or imaginary). Cultural production is an act of commoning that thinks, imagines, and questions urban communities, and, as such, it is an inherent part of their very materialization.” (Scorer, 2016, p.28)

Residents' visibility then is not based on identifying individuals and groups as separate entities in the city but in recognising them in constant relation, producing and reproducing the urban life that sustains their being together. Regarding shared and open spaces as common invites us to regard these as hosting individuals 'sitting together' in diversity around shared interests and conflicts in access to the city (Fincher, 2017). Thus, that being together allows the identification of tensions or negotiations over the 'invisibility' of residents, in terms of trajectories, needs and claims on the city that are not equally recognised as participating in the common space and the common city.

As spaces of coexistence, markets allow for urban agents to take part in the configuration of these particular sites, creating and re-creating relational and material arrangements under which activities of consumption, commensality or simple commingling are held in common. Aesthetic aspects in particular can bring about visible recreations of conflictive aspects in city life, making for instance those products associated with segregated groups look appealing for a particular context, while remaining undesirable in other spheres (Jones, 2011). In that sense, the 'material culture' of the market, that Coles (2014) describes for Borough Market in London, such as the infrastructural settings and the varied food offers, reproduces significances associated with the atmosphere and ethos of the space. This culture may raise the appeal for consumption but not necessarily imply further renegotiations on conflictive meanings elsewhere. Nonetheless, these aspects around urban imaginaries, on their meanings and representations, contribute to identifying renegotiations from everyday actions or persisting conflicts around social differences emerging from market encounters.

Developing collective recreations on urban imaginaries

In spaces of food exchange, relations around foodstuffs invite us to observe the sharing of products and practices as implying negotiations for recognition through visible affiliations with market users and shared elements. Identifying examples from contemporary food trends, we can look at cities developing an ethos of 'gastronomic capitals' around the world – such as Lima in South America, and Bologna and Lyon in Europe. Social trajectories, achievements and struggles of diverse actors have become visible in these gastronomic realms, and to a certain extent have contributed to their recognition as active agents in the making of the city and its ethos. Nonetheless, the intervention of selected actors and political strategies to position commodified resources add other aspects to this negotiation. This has been the case for Peruvian gastronomy, as well as for other countries using food as a tool for 'soft [political and economic] power' (Martigny, 2010).

Places where foodstuffs are obtained are expected to match the preferred significances of the consumer, in terms of the material setting and social diversity to be encountered. In Peru, for example, the cultural values of food, highlighted as traditional, native and diverse, have been re-appropriated by the promoters of this popular discourse, adding new aesthetic tones to what could be originally subject to segregation and disregard (Fan, 2013). This also goes hand in hand with rising commercial values of products or exchange locations, backed by the aesthetisation of material and cultural elements, for instance in the store or market stall, the dressing codes, manners and proficiency of the seller, all of these aligned to the assigned qualities of the offer (Zukin, 2011).

Hence, in the same way that the material representation of a place brings people together in inclusive or exclusive ways, the costs applied to products act as effective agents of segregation. De La Pradelle (2006) raised related observations in regard to truffle commerce in the French market of Carpentras. High costs of truffles are associated with their uniqueness and the particularities in their production, but the costs are also founded on the meanings attached to this product, making it for particular consumers who will

look and be able to afford it, differentiating them for a broader public not knowledgeable or able to afford this specialty:

“The multiple meanings associated with the truffle confer a mediating role upon it. In the space and time of the market, the truffle unites all those who are involved with it (...) [and] defines the boundary between those who are ‘in the game’ (...) and the masses excluded from it” (De La Pradelle, 2006, p.151).

For Carpentras, it was also the distinctive atmosphere of this open and seasonal market that added a commercial value to what was desired to be acquired and consumed. This way, through material and economic arrangements, the space of commingling and action can work towards bringing together or segregating urban agents.

In cases of markets’ infrastructural renewal, users have faced the underlying interests in turning these into more profitable spaces. It has occurred in traditional markets turned into gastronomic spaces, of refined settings and selected offers, bringing at the same time threats to markets’ functions for residents’ provisioning and open convergence (Medina & Alvarez, 2009). As Hernández and Andreeva (2016) described, the intention has been “to create a new imaginary on markets-spectacle as spaces of leisure and consumption of products of high quality and price” (p.150). These changes in material and economic arrangements have worked for bringing together certain diversity of urban actors while leaving others segregated (See Figure 2.5). Hence, marketplaces may be portrayed as recovered under a recreated balance between tradition and modernity, as intended by economic or urbanisation agents, but may not actually respond to public demands. Moreover, these sorts of recovery, also developed in urban emblematic locations such as historical centres of Lima and Latin American cities, may imply the exclusion of groups and sociocultural practices that were characteristic of these locations (i.e. expressions of popular culture, street vendors, enclosure of public areas, etc.) (Vega Centeno, 2006).



Figure 2.5 Recreations for gaining visibility and recognition.
 San Miguel Market, central market renovated under gastronomic concept.
 Madrid. July, 2016

San Miguel is an example of an old market that has been renovated maintaining its old structure but under renewed gastronomic purposes, including restaurants and gourmet specialities to attract new publics.

Zukin's (2008) work on food consumption spaces in New York shows how processes of urban change can be led by 'creative' classes, as in the case of artists and entrepreneurs creating a concept of differentiated offer from open spaces of consumption, directly or indirectly affecting their accessibility for old users, and attracting new consumers and investors. The author addresses conflicts between old users and newcomers, based on differences built around visible codes – as in product qualities and presentation, and place aesthetics – defining what is regarded as desired and modern. Visible features may be inviting for locals, or become ingredients for processes of segregation, as gentrification, for which consumption activities work as "(...) an effective

means for new residents to cleanse and claim space (...)” (Zukin, 2008, p. 745). This appears to be the impact of gastronomic initiatives which have gained popularity by developing imaginaries around foodstuffs, practices and spaces of consumption, but in cases stressing divisive social meanings and relations.

This way, even if discourses of consumption highlight ideals of inclusion around shared interests, practices can actually reflect opposite situations. Commercial and consumption operations can lead to the reinforcing of attitudes and practices of exclusion (Stillerman, 2006b). Hence, public spaces of food provisioning such as marketplaces can be found representing residents’ multiple forms of experiencing city living, facing or building barriers with different others. In spite of the contrasting or divisive aspects that may arise from market imaginaries, for instance from meanings and representations of exclusionary practices, markets still present opportunities for residents to engage with the collective re-creation of social and cultural values over the shared space, resources and activities. This could be observed at marketplaces that have regained visitors after their renovation, fostering the visibility of cultural features connected to these shared spaces and to the distinctive cultural assets of the city. Although the use of cultural resources may be likewise argued as leading to the commodification of cultural values, as has been discussed for market and city branding campaigns, there may be negotiations at stake in the increased attendance and residents’ interaction.

The particularities of modern demands appear as influencing the relevance and interest rose by certain emblematic marketplaces, but these are regarded as desirable to the extent in which they can accommodate and follow modern preferences. Hence, material elements, spatial arrangements, histories of places, in addition to cultural factors and symbolisms emerging from these, also appear as responding to logics of organising daily living, defining operations and engagements with markets, and defining social negotiations such as those towards diversity. Open spaces, such as streets and markets, can be regarded then as expressing those differentiations or convergences through the conceptualisation and materialisation of what is to be shared –

inviting to or limiting their use only for certain social and economic classes (Zukin, 2008). On top of this, encounters around such commonalities or differences imply experiencing those conditions and opening possibilities to collectively recreate them. Acting in common, while shaping the social and material setting of a common space, may result in the development of everyday politics that support coexistence in diversity, and in creating shared understandings of urban assets and the city as a whole as common (Simone, 2014).

2.3.3 Market exchanges: Public interactions

“[marketplaces] connect us to an ancient sort of public life. People have always come to markets in order to socialize as well as to buy food, and the need for such spaces in which to mingle is as great now as it has ever been – arguably greater, since so few such opportunities exist in modern life.”

(Steel, 2008, p.111)

Residents’ interactions over weakened civic relatedness

Marketplaces attract people in their need to reconnect with public life, as Steel (2008) argues for Western ‘modern’ societies. Even if modern forms of consumption have pointed at the enclosure of the city and the individuality of agents in commercial spaces, contemporary markets invite to raise an opposite claim. There are more than economic transactions at stake at these sites, these are always accompanied by social relations that are at the core of market exchanges (De La Pradelle, 1995). Along with the experiences of encounter, people exchange sociocultural notions, symbols and hierarchies assigned to strangers as well as to the places and items of exchange. Furthermore, markets connect their activities not only with commercial activities in their surroundings but also with street life, raising the vibrancy of

urban areas and inviting envisioning of the collective recreation of imaginaries of more convivial urban living from these local spaces.

Interactions make social and economic environments more inviting to exchanges and increase the reliability of those settings for the collective production or accumulation of goods (Foster & Iaione, 2016). This is readily translatable to markets, regarding interactions between traders and customers that facilitate commercial exchanges and make trading spaces more appealing for users. This way, interactions may facilitate connections among traders and customers (and other urban agents participating, such as public authorities responding for their surveillance) and make these connections work for improving market services and securing the sustainability of the shared space. The social vibrancy of places can thus bring people together under renewed engagements over shared resources and common grounds:

“(...) urban “interaction space” becomes the common pool resource that renders public spaces so valuable. Capturing the positive gains of urban “interaction space” is in large part what draws commoners to public open spaces and is also what in turn gives these spaces value.” (Foster & Iaione, 2016, p.297)

This way, the interaction space and social experience that markets offer remain as preferred traits for many consumers looking for a moment of proximity, against the automated procedures or walls that often limit social relations.

Developing urban connections from market exchanges

Markets allow for relations with the built space and with the urban along the activities and mobilities inside and outside the places, inviting for an open connection with public life and street dynamics (Buie, 1996). Markets endure as social and public spaces in which urban dynamics are also expressed, for instance in consumption trends or the performativity of modern ways of living. Facing everyday conflicts of modern urbanisation, markets appear as offering

possibilities for residents to encounter and connect with urban life where it is increasingly lost. For instance, markets allow for developing relations of trust and recognition among traders and customers, in the intention of completing successful and agreeable exchanges (Everts & Jackson, 2009). Connections from being together can be forms of learning about their environments, experiencing the city through commonalities and frictions, as well as forms of contestation to existing urban pressures, often in the absence of other possibilities for such negotiations.

Moreover, manifestations of sociability and conviviality take place around shared materialities, such as the physical display of the sites and food products (Koch & Latham, 2013). Food in particular, containing sociocultural values in its significances and practices, becomes a central piece in economic and social exchanges (Bell & Valentine, 1997). As well as Steel (2008), who referred to social experiences around food at British markets, these observations have been raised by many other contributors on markets for diverse contexts (Duruz et al, 2011 for Australian public markets and spaces of commerce; Mele et al, 2014 for Singaporean markets).

Applying similar lines of observation on Singaporean markets, Mele et al. (2014) argued for their social functions as sites of social interaction and sociality that “can include ad hoc exchanges or planned gatherings or develop into sustained forms of trust and reciprocity among their users” (p. 3). For the authors, social values developed from residents’ attachment to markets can be regarded as social responses to pressures in urban life, such as those arising from public governance and economic development imperatives. Attachment to these spaces has made these prevail in spite of fast paced changes in the urban landscape and as they defend, markets are spaces of social connection where relationships can evolve horizontally, without the ‘mediation’ or influence of authorities or commercial and consumption trends (Figure 2.6). Then, despite current threats and limitations on their social functions, markets are spaces that host multiple possibilities of sociality and coexistence among strangers during the anonymous encounters and easy interactions that characterise them (Black, 2012; Steel, 2008).



Figure 2.6 Connecting activities and spaces during market exchanges.
Customers waiting to be served at Marché des Enfants Rouges (Enfants Rouges Market). Paris. November, 2014

The market's renovation has secured its positioning as a gastronomic spot for Parisians and foreigners, reflected in an increased attendance that multiplies moments of co-presence and connection among residents from diverse sociocultural trajectories.

Cities' distinctive assets and residents' affiliations to these have for instance contributed to the successful recovery of marketplaces in Barcelona and the encouraged use of these spaces (Costa et al., 2015), or the positive reception of food trends in Lima that has made the culinary realm one in which residents can dialogue and converge (APEGA, 2013). These aspects bring about reflections on cities' distinctive conditions for the recovery of these centres for civic purposes. Looking at residents operating under renegotiated social values, their engagement with the city can open up opportunities from free market and sociocultural systems, and thus extend benefits from urban interventions that require of collective operation and engagement.

Urban planning discussions, centred on concerns of convivial and fruitful being together, have placed a lens on encounters and urban affiliations to expand on urban ideals and projects. These have highlighted the relevance of encouraging individuals' encounters over matters of common interest, and in spaces of encounter as varied as the multiplicity of residents' backgrounds, aspirations and affiliations (Peattie, 1998). Through this lens, marketplaces can be observed accomplishing roles as spaces for nurturing city life. Markets host "(...) series of intimate daily interactions between humans and built spaces that facilitate social relations. These interactions bring meaning to places and daily life" (Black, 2012, p. 171) and take place among the diversity of residents participating in markets. These social relations and interactions reflect residents' connections with the common space and the urban collective encountered along exchanged operations, meanings and values.

The core references and topics presented in this chapter are applied to sustain and expand discussions about case studies. The core notions of encounter, fragmentation and common are at the basis of this analytical work (Section 2.1). These are applied in constant dialogue in order to situate and explore everyday experiences of togetherness at marketplaces studied. Chapter 3 expands on the ethnographic approach undertaken in the field and the steps conducted to collect data for this study. The outcomes, presented in Chapters 4 to 6, are organised according to the three fields of encounter presented above and organised in two parts with the purpose of identifying responses to sources of urban fragmentation (Section 2.2) and negotiations over the former (Section 2.3). Table 4 summarises the sequence of themes organising these empirical chapters:

Fields of encounter	Responding to sources of fragmentation	Sources of fragmentation	Shaping common spaces	Values and common actions
Markets' management	Private operations in management and use	Market-led urban governance	Collective operations	Trust and collaborations in markets' management
Market imaginaries	Unequal visibility (and popularity) of expressions of diversity	Unassimilated social differences	Visible expressions of diversity	Recognition and collective recreations of market imaginaries
Market exchanges	Missing or avoided interactions	Weakened civic relatedness	Public interactions	Sociality and connections from market exchanges

**Table 4. Responding to fragmentations and shaping common spaces:
Sequence for the analysis on encounters in Chapters 4 to 6.**

3. Fieldwork at markets: learning from inner-city encounters

“(...) culinary virtuosity establishes the plural language of stratified histories, of multiple relationships between enjoyment and manipulation, of fundamental languages spelled out in everyday details.”

(De Certeau et al, 1998, p.3)

During the fieldwork conducted for this study, I aimed to collect information that addressed the main question of this research, departing from identifying encounters as residents' intersections at market spaces and questioning what these could inform about urban living (Section 1.1.1). I evaluated encounters as raising conflictive views over the use and access to the shared space, but also acknowledged these as bringing about negotiations towards affirmative ways of sharing and producing the space in common. Encounters in open spaces as markets become meaningful in the sense that they provide individuals with opportunities for reworking tensions from ruling systems of governance, urban imperatives of productivity or social status, such as those present in the context under study. The civic qualities of markets, expressed through residents' relations that are at the core of markets' commercial dynamics, have made them adapt to changing economic, political and spatial demands (Medina & Alvarez, 2009). These also invite to look at these as common spaces and resources from the collective ways in which these can be reshaped.

Under this scope, I worked with two case studies in order to build connections between urban spaces participating in the evolution of the city but at the same time, being distinctive in their roles and forms of functioning. Being located in different neighbourhoods and areas of the city, these markets informed me

about their forms of local governance, the different publics they brought about as well as about the way these spaces experienced pressures from urban growth. Hence, I could situate market encounters in the functioning of markets, strongly shaped by private modes of operation, meanings on modern living, and relations among *caseros* (frequent customers and traders) and strangers (Section 1.1.2).

Moreover, encounters and activities around food at markets were useful for analysing typical moments of negotiation among residents and users of these spaces (Bell, 2002). Having placed this research under the gastronomic boom period in Lima, I directed my observations on encounters mainly to physical intersections around culinary operations and relations. I placed these at the core of my analysis on everyday experiences and 'details', enmeshed in encounters around 'culinary virtuosités' (De Certeau et al., 1998), framing urban life in these shared spaces. From these, I could explore negotiations over fragmentations in urban living, and possible common actions emerging from those urban conditions. In that way, market users' experiences of encounter, and my own experiences of participation in the social and material settings of marketplaces, informed the topics and discussions organising this work.

The focus of this research on quotidian situations in urban spaces demanded to prioritise observations and experiential approaches to inform the study (Gandy, 2016). Hence, I selected a fieldwork strategy that would allow me to acquire in depth knowledge from encounters and situate these within urban conditions shaping markets and everyday dynamics of urban living. In that endeavour, I identified that combining ethnographic methods I could most adequately respond to this research focus. I followed urban studies on the everyday life that applied combined and experiential approaches and was importantly inspired by De Certeau et al. (1998) in their study of the Croix Rousse neighbourhood in Lyon. For this research work, they applied sociological and ethnographic methods to explore the operationality, orality and ordinariness of residents' daily dynamics in this neighbourhood and also at its market. The researchers highlighted that the methods they combined to

produce this work were central aspects for developing their theoretical contributions to everyday life.

Moreover, fieldwork for this research was planned as an initial in-depth exploration to Lima's marketplaces as spaces of encounter, given the scarce reports found on these spaces for Lima and for other cities of Peru, in general, under a focus on urban encounters and everyday negotiations in urban living. In that sense, research methods were applied with the purpose of identifying particularities of the contexts studied, but also aiming to analyse connections between sites, and between these and broader urban processes (Robinson, 2016). In that intention, case studies were analysed with the aim of raising parallels or contrasts among their histories and relevant social, economic and political processes across the city.

I also conducted visits to other markets, in Peru and abroad, with the purpose of expanding this analysis across cities. For this, I looked at cases that had been addressed in market studies or food reports that fed into my research. The latter referred to urban contexts portraying increased dynamism around food-centred spaces, as in the case of cities undertaking projects for the renovation or revaluation of their markets, as well as projects to consolidate these cities as gastronomic capitals. I learned about these cases while building knowledge on urban and food studies that helped me to formulate, delimit and conduct this project.

References from research projects on the social and cultural dynamics of markets were fundamental in selecting the ethnographic approach as the most suitable methodology. These projects were mainly conducted applying ethnographic methods, in which detailed observations and conversations with traders and customers were the main methods for data collection and for producing research outcomes. For instance, Watson applied this field strategy to analyse aspects of sociability and inclusion in ethnically diverse markets in the UK (Watson & Studdert, 2006; Watson, 2009); Stillerman also collected ethnographic data to approach street market vendors in Santiago, Chile and learn about their operations for appropriating market spaces and contesting

marginalization in the city (Stillerman, 2006a). Likewise, Mele et al. (2014) applied the method of participant observation to analyse social interactions and residents' experiences in Singaporean markets, providing insightful reflections on contemporary concerns on urban growth. The different purposes for which ethnographic studies were applied in these studies were also useful in exploring varied perspectives from which to identify and analyse encounters in case studies.

Other extensive studies on marketplaces, found after the fieldwork period, were useful for enriching my analytical work as well as the outcomes presented here. This was the case of Black (2012) in her ethnography on Porta Palazzo Market, where she identified ongoing negotiations among individuals entering in constant relation through exchanges, circulations and other shared actions shaping the market space. Moreover, Black identified main practices and elements intersecting relations and negotiations and used these as tools to reconstruct the varied urban histories she learned about along this study. For the author, engaging with an ongoing ethnographic questioning on the market scene was a central task in developing research findings, as it was in my case. The ongoing questioning allowed me to raise the empirical discussions developed in the following chapters.

Other ethnographies on Peruvian markets, developed under the particular realities of highland cities, were also insightful to develop this work (Babb, 2008; Seligmann, 2015). These studies were conducted with a strong focus on the roles of traders, and in raising evidence on their social and economic struggles in urban living. These contrasted with my study in the sense that my intention was to capture encounters among market users in different sides of the commercial exchange. From this departing point, I questioned how those struggles and forms of fragmentation were experienced in the everyday commingling. Despite the different regards and perspectives on what these encounters may entail, these references provided an insightful background for this research from their approach to other contexts of urban Peru.

Based on these considerations, I introduce the foundations of the ethnographic methods applied during fieldwork (3.1), to next describe the selection of case studies (3.2). I move on to a detailed description of the procedures undertaken for data collection (3.3) and conclude with a description of the market environments that will be addressed in the empirical chapters, the limitations of this study in developing in-depth understandings of their complexity and finally, the analytical process undertaken to produce research outcomes (3.4).

3.1 Ethnographic approximations

Building on the ethnographic methodological foundation, I conducted this study in the field by participating in market encounters and raising questions on what markets could inform about urban living. The use of ethnographic methods implies the direct participation of the researcher in the field of study, immersing in quotidian dynamics, relations and contestations in order to interpret and reconstruct the reality addressed (Marcus, 1995). Thus, ethnographic approximations invite the researcher to engage with the multiplicity and complexity of dimensions shaping urban living, and to establish ongoing relationships and comparisons across subjects and sites (Falzon, 2009).

This sort of methodology, deriving from anthropological studies, is based on the combination of qualitative research tools that allows that immersion in living experiences of the urban field (Guber, 2001). This way, the ethnographic approach leads to address the multiplicity and dynamism of the urban realities explored, raising understandings on barriers and contestations from everyday life at markets (Duruz, 1999). Moreover, this methodology requires a reflexive practice. It implies the continuous analysis of data collected with the purpose of redefining questions along the research practice to address emerging objects of study and adequate tools to the study demands (Marcus, 1995). This way, urban ethnographers use anthropological approaches to develop research tools that allow them to raise understandings on the complexity and diversity of urban environments and their changing dynamics.

Prior to fieldwork, I learned about the anthropological foundations of this approach, both from bibliographic revision and from putting these methods into practice in preliminary observations of foreign and local markets (See Figure 3.1). This previous formation supported me in designing the research strategy, defining the methods for collecting and producing the information discussed in analytical chapters. Likewise, I learned about visual methods in urban

ethnographies. These are valuable in documenting and supporting interpretations made of the realities observed (Harper & Faccioli, 2009). In particular for markets, visual registers have been applied for exploring the “material culture” of these settings representing urban processes, relations and even modern living demands (Coles, 2014). These visual records were important inputs in my analysis, and significantly enriched my work in the final track of this thesis writing, illustrating and expanding my discussions.



Figure 3.1 Observing social and spatial relations.

Lunch time at the plaza. Trento. September, 2014

To gain theoretical knowledge and practical exposure on ethnographic tools, I participated in a summer school at the University of Trento before starting the fieldwork period. It was an important opportunity to learn and put into practice my role as researcher and participant observant from shared urban spaces.

Throughout this research practice, encounters around food prevailed as lenses into the fragmentations and possibilities for common living that sustain this research. Beyond its role as a primary need, food invites to approach economic systems, geographical interconnections and social arrangements that are emmeshed in its everyday practices (Giard, 1998 in De Certeau et al.,

1998). As described by anthropological discussions, the materiality of food is in itself a language since it can communicate the 'sociocultural frameworks' organising a society as well as the forms in which individuals operate and relate in the urban context, as in the case of operations regarding food production, consumption and incorporation (Fischler, 1988; Levi Strauss in Counihan & Van Esterik, 1997).

Through practices and meanings associated with food, it brings about differences and convergences among individuals, while inviting them to recognise themselves and others within the diverse urban collective (Barthes, 1961 in Counihan & Van Esterik, 1997). Food can also be understood as a symbol of human relationships with space, time, and urban environments, leading to individuals' identification or differentiation from other groups of reference, consolidating affiliations, divisions and urban aspirations (Matta, 2012; Wilson, 2013). Hence, food encounters have substantially fed the following discussions, particularly given the context of renewed food interest after the Gastronomic Boom in Peru.

Food was present along the exchanges, operations and interactions. It was a key element mediating encounters, taking part in the experience of being at the markets. Food topics often facilitated talks among market users, on what was valued at these markets, what traders were proud of offering and knowing about, and what customers looked for and were willing to exchange views about. Quotidian relations and encounters around food, as an element rich in sociocultural significances, may inform us about individuals' interpretation of the urban context, their capacity to engage with it or their restrictions to participate in the course of the city (De Certeau et al., 1998; See Figure 3.2).

On the whole, materialities as food, shared and exchanged in moments and spaces of being together, take part in developing understandings of the urban configuration in which urban lives evolve. Materialities are enmeshed in human interactions, for instance in market infrastructures hosting residents in their daily activities and items of consumption bringing customers to commingle around assets inviting to common actions (Koch & Latham, 2013). In the same

way, configurations and aesthetic elements of such assets can physically represent outcomes from unequal civic relations or privatising and individualizing processes of urban development (Bridge & Watson, 2011).



Figure 3.2 Food as lens to encounters.
Sunday market at the Croix Rousse neighbourhood.
Lyon. September, 2017

The ethnographic approach and ongoing analysis supported me in sharpening the research scope and organising my observations. Thus, I could identify fields or central aspects around which encounters evolved (Section 1.1.2), which have guided my research agenda (Section 1.3). Ethnographic approximations then allowed me to engage with urban agents, histories and ‘movements’ leading to encounters at markets. As Seligmann (2015) described in her ethnography of Cusco’s central market, observations on these ‘movements’ inside and outside the market were substantial to understand how the market was shaped by people’s activities, relations and ways of living in common. This way, I proceeded during fieldwork under these theoretical and practical understandings, based on information from the case studies I present next.

3.2 Culinary delimitations: case studies

“Instead of having one municipal market [Lima, in contrast to other Peruvian cities], there were eight neighbourhood municipal markets and, in addition, each of the eight suburbs had its own municipal market.”

(Schneider, 1945, p.262 - 263)

Based on the ethnographic approach and recognising the need of developing close engagements with cases studies, I selected two marketplaces from which I raise parallels and contrasts from their daily operations. These were selected with the aim of reaching an adequate depth and scope – which would risk with a larger number of cases. Moreover, my evaluation was based on limitations of the period of study (timeframe and funding). I visited Lima in April 2014 to conduct a month of pre-fieldwork in order to visit and identify suitable markets for the project. In selecting these case studies, I based my considerations on the main question and respond to the expected contributions of this work (Section 1.3.1).

First of all, in order to look back at remaining spaces of encounter in the city, I focused on markets operating for longer periods than most contemporary forms of urban commerce (new private markets, stores, supermarkets) and counting with a regular attendance that has secured their sustainability. Markets in Lima take varied forms (i.e. permanent street markets, weekly *ferias* or open-air markets, covered neighbourhood and municipal markets, among others) (Municipalidad de Lima, 2013). For this research, I focused in the old municipal marketplace or *mercado de abastos*, functioning in built and covered structures and serving as supplying centres for the corresponding jurisdiction. These served the first suburbs at Lima, all of these in the Central area (Schneider, 1945). During pre-fieldwork, I could visit a group of these markets

and hold conversations with their participants, traders, market administrators and regular customers. I also met representatives from the Peruvian Gastronomic Society (APEGA), who shared with me their experiences in conducting social activities and attempting to implement renovation projects at various emblematic markets of the city – not all of these successful. From these views and information received, I could identify central markets in which it was feasible to carry out this research.

Secondly, in order to situate markets within the fragmented context of inner Lima, I acknowledged that the high centralization of economic activities in the city could allow me to observe the commingling of residents from different backgrounds, status and affiliations (in accordance with Díaz-Albertini, 2016 in the centralization of Metropolitan Lima). Moreover, I identified these markets were connected to areas intensely impacted by modern urbanization, as evidenced in the infrastructural and commercial development of their surroundings. Finally, the type of administration - i.e. public and private - was an important aspect considered for observing markets in a fragmented context. The need of addressing this aspect became explicit in the limitations encountered during my pre-fieldwork research on municipal markets. Traders were often involved in conflicts with external actors, directly or indirectly impacting on their operations – such as public administrators or direct competitors, such as supermarkets. Traders' resources to face these conflicts largely relied on their forms of internal organisation. Thus, selected cases have this contrasting aspect: one is still publicly owned and under municipal administration, and the other is owned and managed by the traders' association.

Thirdly, I chose marketplaces presenting evident impacts from the Gastronomic Boom context in their functioning. This was in the intention of identifying possible commonalities to overcome challenges from fragmentations. In that way, I also narrowed my selection to sites participating in gastronomic projects and receiving certain attention from urban renewal interests. In that sense, I regarded food as a resource of shared interest, and shared activities around it as allowing me to explore aspects of the everyday

that could be considered in renewed visions for urban planning. Not all old markets had visibly assimilated this discourse or not all had succeeded in raising attention of local consumers. Maintenance conditions and the accessibility of their locations in the growing and busy city were some factors that did not favour those culinary commonalities among urban actors. In addition to my visits, I draw on other evidence on gastronomic urban plans, mainly from media reports on markets backing gastronomic symbols used at these sites.

Based on the characteristics outlined above, this study was delimited to the case studies of San Jose Market at Jesus Maria district, and Mercado N.1 (Market Number 1), Surquillo district (See Figures 3.3 & 3.4). In order to have the agreement of traders and market managers to work at both, I first presented my research purposes to the president of each traders' association, and requested for their consent to conduct the research work at these locations. I also presented my project to the municipal authority of the corresponding district, but it was made clear beforehand – by traders and the public party – that consent should be mainly provided by the traders' association. I prepared presentation letters for these introductory visits (Annex 1). Responses in both cases were fast and positive, from both associations and municipalities, and I could rapidly start with my research visits. This marked the start of an insightful journey with these markets. I introduce below relevant details for both cases.

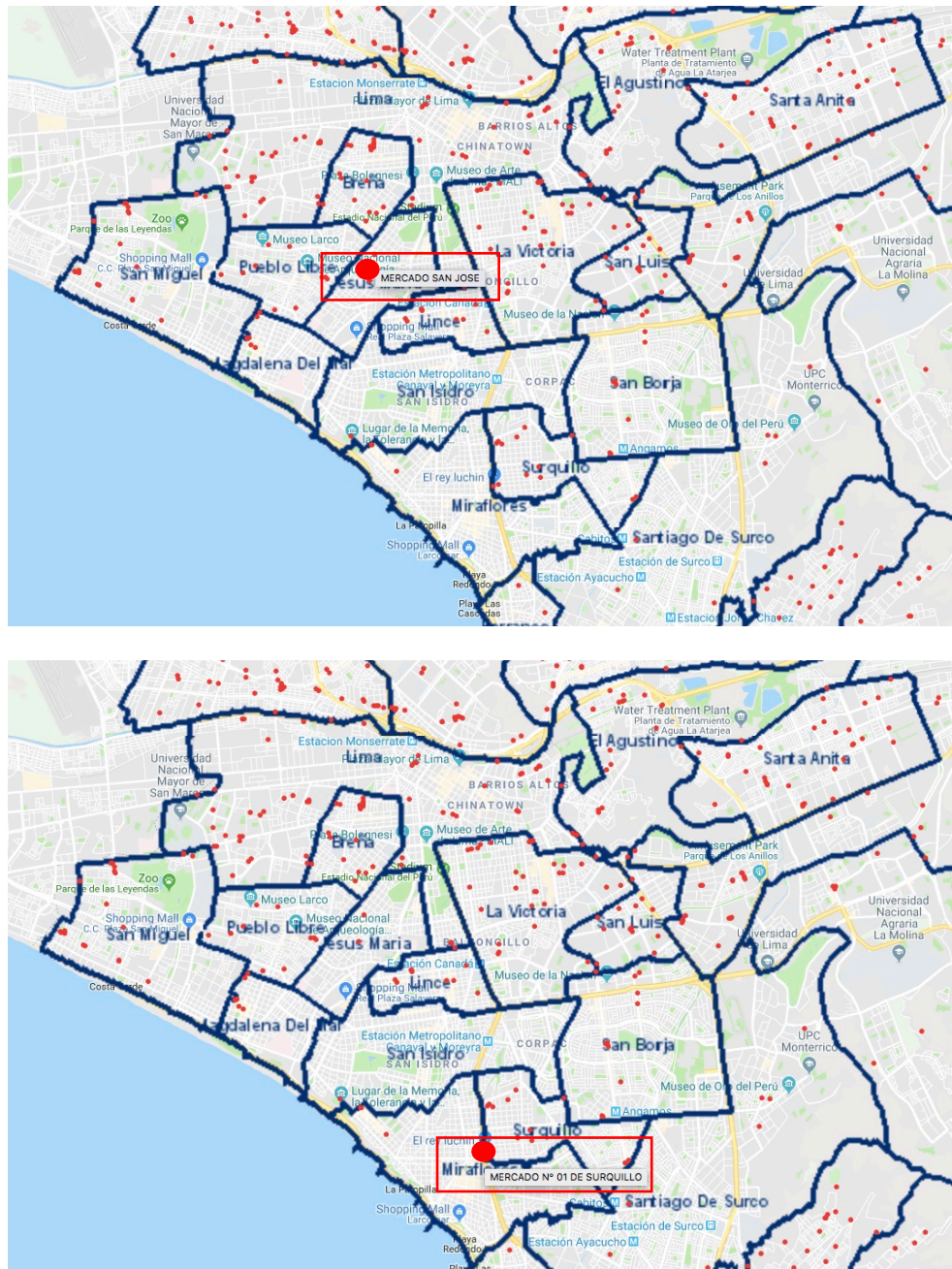
Following the description of both markets, I explain the ethnographic approach applied in the field, as well as the methods, tools and sources used to situate and explore market encounters.



Source: INEI, 2018

Figure 3.3 Distribution of markets in the city of Lima.
Map showing results of the first national census of retail markets.

The central area concentrates the highest number of markets. It is in this area, comprising Jesus Maria and Surquillo districts (in green), where case studies are located.



Source: INEI, 2018

Figure 3.4 Location of case studies in inner-Lima.

San Jose Market, in Jesus Maria district and Mercado N.1, in Surquillo district (in red).

San Jose Market

San Jose Market was founded in 1945 under the name of Mercado N. 9 (Market Number 9) in the old jurisdiction of Lima Centre. Its administration then passed to the jurisdiction of Jesus Maria district, when it was created after the division of Lima Centre – following the city's expansion and political redistribution. The market is a one-story building, with an extension of 5000 m² (Leung, 2016). It has 300 stalls operating (INEI, 2018). It is open all days of the week until evening hours – usually closing its doors at 8 pm but there are still businesses working, accompanying the stores outside that continued operating. Commercial activities nearby cover varied options, among which the most noticeable are clothing, toiletries and food stores. Most of them are small businesses, some of them grouped in small shopping spaces distributed in streets around the market. The market is located at the heart of Jesus Maria district, next to its main square and the most vibrant commercial area (See Figure 3.5).

Since the year 2000, the market has been the property of the traders' association, "Asociación de Mercaderes del Mercado San Jose de Jesus Maria", formed by 300 traders. They periodically elect a board that is in charge of managing the property. In the year 2000, the association undertook some infrastructural changes. Traders have not agreed yet on major renewal projects. Most traders work at their own business but there are cases in which associates have preferred to rent their stalls to other, old and new, traders.

The market offers a fair variety of national products and dishes, regularly at lower prices than the other case study. There are also a large number of stalls offering other supplies for the house (ornaments or kitchenware), as well as cobblers or tailors providing their services at neighbouring stalls. It has a section where ceviche, a popular seafood dish, is mostly sold and which has gained popularity with the gastronomic boom. This is visible in the number of visitors but also in the gastronomic labels in this thriving section.



Figure 3.5 San Jose Market

Above. Location at red spot.

Below. Front view - Jesus Maria district, Lima. February, 2015

View from the district's main square. The market does not have a distinctive façade, it can easily go unnoticed among the banners, stores and wide streets around.

Mercado N.1 (Market Number 1)

Mercado N.1 was founded in 1939 as the Municipal Market of Miraflores district. It then passed to the jurisdiction of Surquillo district, when it was created after the division of old Miraflores. It is located at the limit of these two districts (See Figure 3.6). The market is a three-story building with an extension of 9000 m². It contains 343 stalls (Leung, 2016). Not all of these are occupied with only 250 reported as operating in 2018 (INEI, 2018). It is open all days of the week, but stalls start closing earlier than at San Jose market – usually by 6 pm most businesses are closed. Stores nearby are varied but the majority of these are linked to food preparation and commerce (as in stores for kitchen tools and groceries, and street food vendors).

It is owned and managed by the municipality of Surquillo. Nonetheless, they are only partly involved in management and maintenance operations. Traders have also formed an association and undertake the operations missed by the municipal administration. They periodically elect a board to survey these tasks and to represent them in negotiations with the municipality. In time, the market has undergone some infrastructural changes: including a major reconstruction in 1979, after a fire that affected the original wooden structure, and some maintenance interventions and decorations on the façade in 2008, as part of municipal and gastronomic agreements in re-positioning the market as touristic and gourmet.

It was designed by renowned architects of the time, Alfredo Dammert y Ricardo Valencia (APEGA Mercados, 2016). Therefore, its structure is particular and different to other markets in Lima. The main square of Miraflores district is only three blocks away and thus the market is closely connected to the gastronomic and touristic sectors strongly operating in that area. Traders mainly offer foodstuffs with a notable abundance of national and gourmet products – at higher prices than San Jose market, and market restaurants also offer a wider variety of dishes with national products than other markets in Lima.



Figure 3.6 Mercado N.1

Above. Location at red spot.

Below. Front view - April, 2015

View from Paseo de la República Avenue, the main highway running next to the market and also setting the limit between the districts of Surquillo and Miraflores. The name of the market in big letters can easily be noticed.

3.3 Engaging with market encounters: research methods

“Markets have distinctive identities. To start to understand their particular formation we need to travel back in time. We also need to move through them to understand what is happening at the interior, in people’s interactions, in how and where they work and live, in where they come from and what they think. And we must travel from the market towards the outside to understand how those from Cuzco [highland city in Peru] fit into other contexts (...)”

(Seligmann, 2015 – own translation)

Ethnographic methods and tools are applied from a participant observant perspective. In that sense, I explored encounters by observing and taking part in everyday activities, relations and ‘movements’ at marketplaces. In addition, I performed methods of semi-structured interviews and documentary review in order to complement data from observations (Falzon, 2009). In the next subsections I describe the methods applied in this research, starting with participant observation. Then I continue with the qualitative methods used in combination, interviews and documentary review, to expand on residents’ experiences of encounter and the urban frames conditioning these. I collected this data by note taking, audio and visual recording.

Before moving to these methods, some specifications on the timeframe and informants. Field explorations were developed on the following dates: a pre-fieldwork visit in April – May, 2014 to select cases of inner Lima, and the fieldwork period at selected markets from December 2014 to May 2015. In addition, I visited my case studies a year later, between March and April 2016, to contrast views from the preliminary analysis on data collected with a group of traders and customers that had contributed to this research. This time I also collected images to complement the visual resources used in this dissertation. I originally considered activities for disseminating research outcomes at the

end of the fieldwork period, but this remains a pending task. Given funding constraints and limited support found to academic inputs from market administrations, I decided to re-plan and postpone this task until after the completion of this research work.

The principal sources of information for this research have been the main users of both markets, traders and customers. They were the focus of my observations and of the interviews I conducted. Only adults, men and women between 18 and 70 years old, were considered for data collection. Young adults (from 18 years old, legal age in Peru) conform the largest group of the economically active population in the country (INEI, 2014). Thus, even if not being the majority among market users, they were considered in regard of their potential for revitalising these spaces through their participation in activities of commerce and consumption, as found in other studies on food consumption spaces (Zukin, 2008). Other groups importantly present at market spaces and contributing to my observations were senior adults (from 60 years old) and women. As observed in other studies, these groups traditionally participate in market activities – as traders, customers and market managers - expressing a certain loyalty to these enduring forms of labour and commerce (Black, 2012).

From my role as participant observant and interviewer, I approached traders from food-related businesses, covering the areas of prepared food (*cevicherías* and *menus*, types of market restaurants), poultry and meat, and vegetables and groceries. For each market, I mainly looked for a balance in gender, given the frequently assigned female gender for this labour (Babb, 2008). For the group of customers, in each market I looked for a balance in gender, role as frequent customer (new and old), and age (INEI, 2016). Nonetheless, along the research practice I identified other key actors at markets, directly or indirectly related to the functioning of these spaces. I approached them to explore their participation and influence in users' encounters. These actors included municipal authorities, municipal and private security guards, traders' suppliers, as well as private and public figures that were identified at the sites after an initial period of familiarization. I assimilated their inputs as part of the data collected.

Participant Observation: researcher as participant of the encounter

I performed this method during the whole fieldwork period, participating as a frequent customer of both markets. I focused on the different moments and activities that led market users to physically intersect, which mainly occurred around culinary operations and resources bringing about shared interests along individual and collective activities. This way, I identified forms in which diverse and intertwined factors impacted on people's uses and perceptions of these spaces.

It was important to have gatekeepers at each site for starting observations. In this sense, presidents of both traders' associations not only approved my project and with my procedures for data collection, but were also supportive with providing orientations on market dynamics that were useful in my first visits. Thus, I departed from a period of familiarisation with these dynamics. This allowed me to identify key situations and market sections (i.e. particular types of food commerce or stalls) in which users' intersections would be intense, as well as aspects of the same site that on the contrary would go unnoticed. I visited these markets at opening and closing times, and at different times of the day, to observe the intensity of commercial sales inside the markets and the vibrancy of activities in their surroundings.

Fieldnote San Jose Market 18/12/14

Since the market is big and there's a large number of traders and stalls, I located them by counting the long aisles and learning their locations within those aisles. It also helped me to notice the diversity of businesses in each aisle, how it was not evenly distributed, how circulation was very difficult in certain points, which were the main market gates, etc.

In time, I decided to follow a similar routine on every visit. I started by walking around the perimeter of markets in order to identify any regular or irregular situation occurring in market surroundings - for instance, market dynamics would be most noticeably disrupted during municipal inspections, local celebrations or municipal elections.

Fieldnote Mercado N.1 31/01/15

I started visiting the markets on similar hours in order to find changes in the dynamics according to times of the day and of the week (these visits were done in parallel to interviews or appointments I could schedule in the meantime). In order to identify these dynamics, I walked around the market surroundings first and then around the market aisles, in the same order every day.

Becoming a frequent customer, I became aware of elements that characterised markets, developing memories and reflections on the varied conditions one could encounter on regular visits to these sites:

Fieldnote Mercado N.1 31/01/2015

While walking around the market, I tried to recognise the smells I encountered on the way: I scented the smell of green/leaf vegetables near the vegetables' stalls, the smell of blood around the meat, poultry and fish sections (but even beyond these), and the smell of familiar spices when passing by grocery stalls offering spices and prepared sauces. When going to less busy areas and upper floors, the smells changed and could feel the smell of urine, faeces and waste pipe invading the atmosphere instead.

Moreover, to explore attitudes towards the shared spaces and the commingling, I paid close attention to areas of higher circulation and concentration of people, which was the case of stalls of popular foodstuffs such as *ceviche*. The intensity of encounters in areas of food consumption and in particular, of these well-known offers, made evident the contrasting operations and visibility of other areas, less popularised or demanded, and often less inviting for encounters.

Fieldnote San Jose Market 16/12/2014

The ambiance is busy around the area where 'cevicherías' [market restaurants] are concentrated. 'Jaladores' [workers at market restaurants] try to make you sit and order, offering you the best prices and food courtesies, but don't look well at you if you don't buy or just stop to ask. Owners are even more strict in that aspect. They are usually the cooks, supervising behind the stalls the servings and payments. (...) Since spaces in this market are limited, staying around 'cevicherías' is not easy. There is always someone waiting for your place, and traders expect you to eat and leave fast as well.

In that sense, my observations were importantly committed to the material configuration of both sites, the infrastructural settings and the room allowed for residents' co-presence, as well as the items on offer – which likewise had particular times, places and publics involved.

During my initial explorations, market users, mainly traders, became acquainted to my recurrent visits and started to consider me a frequent customer. In time, I established more connections with a group of traders whom, after learning about my research, let me spend longer moments at or around their stalls to extend my observations. My continuous conversations with certain traders developed into friendship ties and through these, I could have a closer and more personal experience of traders' roles and challenges. On a few occasions I conducted visits accompanied by friends and relatives who were familiar with market spaces and I took these chances to discuss our observations and likewise explore emerging queries or insights.

I visited each market three days per week during a 5-month span - not counting one month of pre-fieldwork to select the cases and the days of introductory visits to these markets to set agreements for this project. During this period of observation, I generally alternated days between my visits to both cases. This accounted for over 60 days of participatory observation per market. On average, my visits lasted two hours. Given the limited room around stalls, I had to be attentive to not raising traders or customers' discomfort. This was what ultimately defined the duration of my visits to each market. I decided these were going to last until users and market dynamics indicated my presence was disturbing rather than engaging with their daily pace. Those indicators for which I would end my day of observation were as well key insights about these local environments. For instance, my extended visit would raise certain distrust or discomfort for being in a reduced space of exchange. These aspects impacted moments and stories at markets and thus shaped the reflections I bring in this work.

In addition to observations, I conducted ethnographic interviews in the form of unstructured and casual conversations with market users (Guber, 2001). On every visit, I approached traders that had become closer acquaintances and also aimed to introduce myself to traders not yet familiar with my presence there. Likewise, I approached customers at these stalls when finding room for brief conversations during their exchanges. Customer rotation was high and thus they were generally new to me and they were not acquainted to my presence. For those reasons, holding these conversations was more difficult than in the case of traders. I also approached other actors present during my visits – most frequently, security guards – who could inform about any situation that had emerged during the day.

As to casual conversations, I aimed for these to occur spontaneously, without forcing a topic or disturbing regular activities. On every visit I looked to approach six traders on average – two of these would be new acquaintances but the majority of fruitful conversations was with traders with whom I repeated my visit. Likewise, I aimed to spontaneously hold conversations with two customers, not previously acquainted, as well as with two other actors with different affiliations to these sites – security guards, municipal agents, street vendors, traders' suppliers, and other occasional visitors.

After every visit, I recorded my observations, conversations and reflections in written notes and on occasions, in audio notes. After fieldwork I transcribed and compiled them in a single document to facilitate the revision and analysis. These notes have been cited in this dissertation, specifying the market and date in which these were taken, as well as the market user (pseudonym) to which I referred. Additionally, I took visual registers of my visits, mainly in the form of photographs – and most of this with my mobile phone. Two friends helped me with photos with their professional cameras, but I have mostly used the photos I took from my own perspective, and with a less noticeable but reliable device.

These conversations had a key role in developing my understanding of the complexities of both markets and the challenges I had to deal with in this study, as in the case of restrictions I faced to access certain information about markets' organisation or the little willingness of certain users to share their views on markets' functioning. Nonetheless, the continuous oral exchanges with a variety of actors were central in reconstructing the environments of both case studies from a local and experiential stance (Figure 3.7). It allowed me to identify urban processes or residents' demands that were particular to these localities, which differed to the problematic reported for other open spaces in Lima, or to what other studies had reported about markets and urban conflicts inside and outside Peru.



Photo taken by Nadia Degregori.

Figure 3.7 Conversations with traders.

Final visits to Mercado N.1. Surquillo district, Lima. May, 2015

In one of my visits, I went accompanied by a friend who helped me with photographs and captured some moments of conversation and exchange with traders at this market.

Interviews: Others' experiences of encounter

After the period of familiarisation, and after becoming acquainted to a number of market users, I developed a series of in-depth, semi-structured interviews. The period in which interviews were held was between mid-February to mid-April 2015. Visits and observations during previous weeks were central in refining questions and topics covered in these interviews with the purpose of including the various trajectories and roles of market actors as well as the inputs their various voices could provide to the study. The open questions I applied in each interview were defined in relation to three main fields of enquiry. These emerged from observations and conversations characterising residents' actions and engagements with market spaces, and referred to residents' histories of working or shopping at markets, their considerations on who they expected to encounter at these spaces, and their overall expectations on markets – on their continuity and adequacy to modern living demands (See Annex 2).

I worked with three groups of actors: traders, customers and municipalities. For the first two groups, I followed the characteristics described before – traders from food-related businesses and adult customers, identified as participating in the different food sections at these markets. I looked to maintain a balance in age, gender and time participating in these spaces among interviewees. At the start of interviews, I included a brief set of questions on personal details, basically for contact purposes and for complementing information on their backgrounds. For traders and customers, I asked about their place of birth, district of residence, study level and occupation. During interviews I could also gather details about their time working at the market and type of tenancy or participation in the management of the stall, in the case of traders, and for customers, I identified their time and frequency for visiting the market (See Annex 3 for details on traders and customers' interviews).

Traders I interviewed were basically those who showed more openness to my researcher's curiosity and allowed me to share moments with them during working hours when I learnt about their labour and occasionally helped with some minor tasks. I interviewed the same number of traders in each market (7), distributing this group across different sections of food commerce - prepared food (*cevicherías* and *menus*, types of market restaurants), poultry and meat, and vegetables and groceries (Table 5).

Market	Code	Pseudonym	Age	Place of Birth	Occupation	Time working at market	Type of food
Mercado N.1, Surquillo	MN1 - T 1	Mariela	42	Lima	Trader	18 years	Vegetables and fruits
	MN1 - T 2	Lorenzo	49	Lima	Cook/ trader at market restaurant	2.5 years	Ceviche and seafood dishes
	MN1 - T 3	Sandra	58	Apurimac	Trader	38-40 years	Poultry
	MN1 - T 4	Diego	50	Lima	President - traders' association; Trader	37 years	Pork
	MN1 - T 5	Gina	44	Lima	Trader at market restaurant	8 years	Juices and meals
	MN1 - T 6	Dario	27	Lima	Chef / Trader at market restaurant	2 years	Ceviche and national dishes
	MN1 - T 7	Julia	34	Arequipa	Trader	>20 years	Groceries, specialties
San Jose Market, Jesus Maria	SJM - T 1	Ines	44	Lima	Trader	17 years	Poultry
	SJM - T 2	Enrique	52	Lima	Trader	45 years	Groceries / Ceviche
	SJM - T 3	Alicia	45	Lima	Trader at market restaurant	15 years	Ceviche and seafood dishes
	SJM - T 4	Carla	57	Lima	President - traders' association; Trader	57 years	Meat
	SJM - T 5	Carlos	27	Lima	Trader at market restaurant	2 years	National dishes
	SJM - T 6	Jose	65	Ayacucho	Trader at market restaurant	40 years	National dishes
	SJM - T 7	Luis	44	Ayacucho	Worker	30 years	Vegetables

Table 5. List of traders interviewed.

For customers, I identified frequent visitors at both markets and also relied on frequent customers to the stalls of interviewed traders. In this case, I covered a different number of interviews per market - 10 for Mercado N.1 and 7 for San Jose Market (Table 6). This was because of difficulties, mainly from distrust on enquiries and disinterest in academic projects, encountered when seeking customer participation (See end of section 3.3).

Market	Code	Pseud.	Age	Place of Birth	Occupation	Time as customer	Type of food
Mercado N.1, Surquillo	MN1 - C 1	Jorge	55	Chiclayo	Congressman	1 year	Fresh products, fish
	MN1 - C 2	Antonio	30	Lima	Comms. Specialist	2 years	Fresh products, dried fruits, sometimes juices
	MN1 - C 3	Erick	60	Lima	Accountant	>30 years	Fresh products
	MN1 - C 4	Aurora	27	Lima	Voluntary work Coordinator	10 years	Asian products
	MN1 - C 5	Rita	27	Lima	Comms. Analyst	7 years	Fresh products, dried fruits, fish
	MN1 - C 6	Irma	46	Lima	Trader - disposables	>21 years	Fresh products; prepared dishes
	MN1 - C 7	Lucio	26	Lima	Logistics support at restaurant	6 months	Groceries
	MN1 - C 8	Christia n	69	Apurimac	Salesman - Photography	38 years	Fresh products; prepared dishes
	MN1 - C 9	Nora	26	Lima	Comms. Specialist	3 months	Fresh products
	MN1 - C 10	Erika	55	Callao (Lima)	Financial advisor	4 years	Fresh products, meat, fish
San Jose Market, Jesus Maria	SJM - C 1	Karen	29	Lima	Publicist	>20 years	Fresh products
	SJM - C 2	Ricardo	30	Lima	Bank supervisor	6 months	Fresh products, meat, fish; sometimes ceviche
	SJM - C 3	Susana	28	Lima	Sociologist	5 years	Fresh products, ceviche
	SJM - C 4	Daniel	34	Lima	Consultant - Sociologist	>24 years/	Fresh products, ceviche
	SJM - C 5	Andres	29	Lima	Marketing specialist	9 years	Ceviche
	SJM - C 6	Nidia	42	Lima	Director - Postgraduate school	10 years	Fruits, spices, flowers
	SJM - C 7	Tula	52	Lima	Housewife	17 years	Fresh products, meat, poultry, fish

Table 6. List of customers formally interviewed.

For municipal authorities, I approached municipal offices in charge of surveying operations at both markets and held interviews with representatives (5) directly involved in this task (Table 7). For one case study, San Jose Market in Jesus Maria district, I could interview two representatives who showed accessibility for responding to my research interests. For the other case study, I could only interview one representative of Surquillo municipality who argued to be the only formal ‘voice’ to carry out an interview. I also approached municipalities shaping my cases through their management policies and held interviews with representatives of the corresponding municipal offices in charge of surveying operations of markets in their jurisdiction. These were the Municipality of Miraflores, neighbouring district to Surquillo and past owner of Mercado N.1; and Municipality of Metropolitan Lima, still holding responsibilities on the overall planning and management of markets in Lima.

Municipalities	Code	Pseudonym	Municipal Authorities
Municipality of Surquillo (Mercado N.1)	MA – 1	Octavia	Manager of Commercial Development Office
Municipality of Jesus Maria (San Jose Market)	MA - 2	Leo	Representative of Health and Safety Office
Municipality of Jesus Maria (San Jose Market)	MA - 3	Oscar	Manager of Commercial Development Office
Municipality of Metropolitan Lima	MA - 4	Omar	Manager of Commercial Development Office
Municipality of Miraflores	MA - 5	Jesus	Manager of Commercial Development

Table 7. List of municipal authorities interviewed.

When requesting an interview, I explained to participants about my research and its objectives, and asked for their consented participation. I continued by explaining how their responses were going to be managed – anonymized, used only for research purposes, and by me as the data collector. I did this orally and by providing them with Information and Consent Forms, which I asked them to sign if agreeing with carrying out the interview (See Annex 4). Interviews with traders were mainly held at their stalls or in proximity to marketplaces, for instance at nearby restaurants. Interviews with customers were held in locations agreed according to interviewees’ availability. I visited a

group of them at their offices or workspaces; with another group, I held interviews at cafés or restaurants of their convenience. In a smaller number of cases, I conducted interviews at customers' houses.

The length of these interviews ranged from 26 to 80 minutes in the case of traders, and from 15 to 95 minutes in the case of customers. All interviews with traders and customers were recorded in digital format. Those with municipal authorities or representatives were registered in fieldnotes. Interviews with representatives of Surquillo and Jesus Maria municipalities were only partially audio recorded, according to the conditions established by these interviewees. These lasted 30 minutes on average. After fieldwork, I transcribed semi structured interviews in order to manage these in text format. It facilitated the revision and analysis in parallel with the notes produced from observation. In writing up results, interviews and quotes from participants are cited under pseudonyms, indicating roles and the corresponding market.

Documentary review: Expanding on frames of encounter

Throughout this research, I reviewed varied sources about markets' functioning. These were archived documents, publications or recordings, as well as news reports (See Figure 3.8). My aim was to situate market processes in time, reconstruct the context in which markets operate and build links across the core themes developed in this research.

In my visits to municipalities, I could gather some information on marketplaces such as maps, regulations and lists (for instance, on market businesses and number of markets per district) but these were not regularly updated. Historical documentation on these case studies was highly scarce. I found few details from online sources – researchers' blogs, newspapers and other media publications – about my case studies and other markets of inner Lima. After fieldwork, I also found unfinished or recently published dissertations, university assignments and articles published online that explored or proposed projects on these markets from the fields of management, history and architecture.

More recently I could access resources from national authorities undertaking the first diagnosis of markets' situation in Peru (INEI, 2016).

Food

Why Lima Is the World's Best Food City, by the Numbers

Eating our way through three restaurants that set the bar.

By [Howard Chua-Eoan](#)

March 2, 2017, 5:00 AM GMT-5

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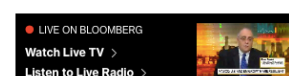
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RR1
Generic 1st 'RR' Future
12.23 USD/cwt
▼ -0.10 -0.77%

NFLX
NETFLIX INC
331.82 USD

Fans of Peruvian food like to tell this story: George Auguste Escoffier, the chef who wrote the rules of contemporary French cooking, once decided to rank the world's top cuisines. In his eyes, the best was, of course, French, followed by Chinese, and, in third place, Peruvian. Italian? Spanish? Not even mentioned. While Escoffier may or may not have created this ranking, it's a prophecy fulfilled: Lima, the capital of Peru, is currently the best place in the universe to get a sampling of the highest-ranking restaurant cooking.

The proof is mathematical, if you use the World's 50 Best Restaurants as a guide. No city on its list has more than three restaurants in the top 50. The



Source: Chua-Eoan, 2017

Figure 3.8 International news report on Lima as gastronomic city.

Participant observation and interviews were central in nurturing my study, especially considering the little documentation available on Lima's markets to inform my discussions. Counting on this data, I was able to develop understandings of the local and global context in which markets operate and develop this work from the key lines emerging from data analysis. To maintain the global scope, I also conducted a series of visits to international markets, which I describe next.

Other markets visited

During the formulation and development of this project, I had the chance to visit several national and international markets. I started by considering visits to Latin American markets that I conducted before the start of the programme. Despite not been held under a particular agenda, these experiences became useful in formulating my questions and focus of study. For the rest of the visits, held during the PhD programme, I proceeded with observations the same way I did in my case studies. I started by recognising the surroundings, walking around the site's perimeter. Then, I walked along market aisles to recognise the set-up, stalls' distribution and overall infrastructural conditions. After these initial walks, I sought to engage as a participant observant while taking the role of a curious customer, holding casual conversations with traders, customers and other actors participating in the space (market staff, municipal or private guards, among others) with whom I found the possibility to hold these informal exchanges. I took photos and written notes of the most relevant aspects I encountered at the sites, to which I later returned to formulate or shape my arguments.

During the research strategy design and prior to fieldwork, I conducted a set of visits to European markets. These were key opportunities to put into practice the ethnographic approach and become more skilled in the use of qualitative tools and the participant observant positioning in the field. For this purpose, I firstly planned visits to centrally-located and emblematic markets of the cities in which I lived or had extended stays before the fieldwork period – London, Cambridge and Paris. I also had the chance to participate in a summer school in urban ethnography in Trento, Italy, and it provided me with valuable tools and exchanges with experienced ethnographers that helped me in refining my methodological approach. During fieldwork I extended my visits to other markets in Lima, mainly those that emerged as relevant from my conversations with market users in my case studies. Most of these were linked to my cases for their proximity to these sites, or for having similar operating or management arrangements, which contributed to my analysis and understanding of the broader urban environment for markets. Moreover, I conducted interviews with

representatives of these additional cases in Lima, and I include this information in the empirical chapters.

After the fieldwork, I conducted a series of visits and exchanges that nurtured my analysis on the data collected. I participated in academic events on food studies and specialised events on markets' management in the United Kingdom and the United States. These also provided me with valuable occasions to learn from markets in these contexts, as well as with opportunities to learn from the expertise of professionals that were part of these experiences and worked in areas closely related to my focus of study. During thesis writing, I also planned visits to international markets that were central references in developing my key arguments. My intention was to become exposed to different realities on markets and to a certain extent, test my own approach in these other locations.

Moreover, I wanted to gain a closer exposure to food concerns and perspectives influencing planning and development interventions in other cities, in order to widen my perspectives when evaluating conditions in Lima. Thus, I conducted visits to markets in cities with a solid recognition on gastronomic traditions (mainly from Latin America and Europe). From the documentary review, I identified actors and urban projects impacting on markets' recovery, for instance through city branding and campaigns for revaluating food assets. In some of these cities I held meetings with actors linked to the market or urban planning scene, and with whom I could establish previous communication. In Barcelona, I had a fruitful meeting with a representative of the Municipal Markets Institute who shared the city council's views on the governance of the market system. In Bologna, I met an urban researcher and planning consultant that shared her in-depth knowledge of the city, its food-centred projects and raising conflicts in their implementation. In Lyon, I met representatives from an organisation advocating for maintaining markets' vibrancy and sustainability. Out of these meetings, I also held casual discussions with participants of urban or market development initiatives, for which I visited municipal centres, participated in events such as food-related festivals, or just engaged with the openness of market environments.

Towards the completion of this thesis, I had the possibility to conduct visits to a group of markets in the Latin American region (Argentina and Chile), which refreshed the views and insights I raise about this region and urban processes. Likewise, in my most recent travel to the UK, I could visit new and already known markets that had also been part of my documentary review, as well as covered in key bibliographic references. This was mainly the case of Leeds Kirkgate Market, where I could meet a lead researcher in market studies in the UK. In Table 8 I present a list of cases (arranged according to different periods of the PhD) that have most importantly contributed to my work, from the knowledge and skills developed to formulate this project and reach its final outcomes (See Annex 5 for further details on these markets).

This way, I aimed to raise connections or contrasts between global cases that reported aspects of similarity with processes undergoing in Lima – for instance, in food-centred initiatives for cities' economic and infrastructural development. Moreover, I aimed to consider how local dynamics and arrangements in city making challenged assumptions on global trends – such as those coming from discussions on gentrification or the loss of traditional markets in urban renewal. On the whole, the dialogue between cases was fruitful both in knowledge and practice, and this methodological addition proved relevant for the focus and aims of this academic project.

	Market	Location	Date	Motivation	Type of market
Before PhD / prior to project formulation	Mercado de San Telmo	Buenos Aires	April, 2012 (2 nd : June, 2018)	Casual visit / Reference - literature; observation - international context	Covered; Refurbished old building
	Mercado de Sao Paulo	Sao Paulo	January, 2012	Casual visit	Covered; Refurbished old building
	Feria Campesina - Plaza Bolivar	Bogota	February, 2011	Casual visit	Open-air; Farmers' market in city centre
During project formulation / before fieldwork	Mercado Central	Lima	April, 2014 (pre-fieldwork; repeated visits later)	Observation - Lima context	Covered; Rebuilt after fire - 1960s
	Borough Market	London	June, 2014 (start, several visits in time)	Observation - practice / Bibliographic reference	Covered; Refurbished old building
	Chapel Market	London	June, 2014 (start, several visits later)	Observation - practice	Open-air; Street market in borough's commercial area
	Cambridge Market (Market Square)	Cambridge	October, 2014 (start, several visits later)	Observation - practice	Open-air; Market in city centre
	Marche des Enfants Rouges	Paris	November, 2014 (2 nd : November, 2018)	Observation - practice	Covered; Refurbished old building
	Mercato settimanale	Trento	September, 2014	Training in Ethnography, Observation - practice	Open-air; Market in city centre
During fieldwork	Mercado Santa Cruz	Lima	February, 2015	Observation - Lima context; proximity to Mercado N.1	Covered; Renewed infrastructure
	Bioferia de Surquillo	Lima	December, 2014 (start, several visits later)	Observation - Lima context; proximity to Mercado N.1	Open-air; Farmers' market next to municipal market
	Mercado Modelo 28 de Julio	Lima	February, 2015	Observation - Lima context; proximity to San Jose Market	Covered; Refurbished old building (early 20th century)
	Ferias Agropecuarias Apega	Lima	December, 2014 (start, several visits later)	Observation - Lima context; proximity to San Jose Market	Open-air; Farmers' market at main district's avenue
During thesis writing	Grainger Market	Newcastle	July, 2015	Food Studies conference; Observation - international context	Covered; Refurbished old building
	Boston Public Market	Boston	October, 2015	Food Studies conference; observation - international context	Covered; Renewed infrastructure
	Union Square Market	New York	October, 2015	Training on markets' management; observation - international context	Open-air; Market in central square
	Essex Street Market	New York	October, 2015	Training on markets' management; observation - international context	Covered; Renewed infrastructure
	Upmarket (Waterside)	Stratford Upon Avon	September, 2017	UK Market authorities conference; observation - international context	Open-air; Market displayed along riverbank, city centre

	Seven Sisters Market	London	July, 2015	Reference - literature; observation - international context	Covered
	Mercat del Ninot	Barcelona	September, 2015	Reference - literature and practical examples on city markets; observation - international context	Covered; Completely renewed infrastructure (reopened 2015)
	Mercat de la Boqueria	Barcelona	September, 2015 (2 nd : June, 2016)	Reference - literature and practical examples on city markets; observation - international context	Covered; Refurbished old building
	Mercado San Pedro	Cusco	March, 2016 (2 nd : April, 2017)	Reference - literature; observation & analysis - Peru context	Covered; Refurbished old building
	Mercado de San Miguel	Madrid	July, 2016	Reference - literature and practical examples on city markets; observation - international context	Covered; Refurbished old building
	Mercado de Abastos	Santiago de Compostela	December, 2016	Observation & analysis - international context	Covered; Refurbished old building
	Les Halles de Paul Bocuse	Lyon	December, 2016 (2 nd : September, 2017)	Gastronomic city; observation - international context	Covered; New infrastructure (early 2000s)
	Marche de la Croix Rousse	Lyon	September, 2017	Reference - literature; observation - international context	Open-air; Street market in borough's commercial area
	Mercato de Porta Palazzo	Turin	September, 2017	Reference - literature; observation - international context	Covered & Open-air; Refurbished old building; open-air in contiguous streets
	Mercato di Mezzo	Bologna	September, 2017	Reference - literature and practical examples on city markets; observation - international context	Covered & Open-air; Stalls and stores in streets of historic centre
	Mercato delle Erbe	Bologna	September, 2017	Reference - literature and practical examples on city markets; observation - international context	Covered; Refurbished old building
	Marche de Quai St Antoine	Lyon	September, 2017	Gastronomic city; observation - international context	Open-air; Market displayed along riverbank, city centre
	Mercato Albinelli	Modena	September, 2017	Gastronomic city; observation - international context	Covered; Refurbished old building
Most recent - final outcomes	Mercado Central	Mendoza	June, 2018	Observation - international context	Covered; Refurbished old building
	Mercado Central	Santiago de Chile	July, 2018	Reference - literature on city markets; observation - international context	Covered; Refurbished old building
	Mercado Cardonal	Valparaiso	July, 2018	Observation - international context	Covered
	Leeds Kirkgate Market	Leeds	November, 2018	Reference - literature on city markets; observation - international context	Covered; Refurbished old building

Table 8. List of markets visited in addition to case studies.

Analysis and Challenges from positionality

To build research outcomes, I firstly immersed myself into the complexity of market environments and developed an ongoing analysis of market realities and their framing conditions, as is characteristic of the ethnographic practice (Guber, 2001). Observations and analytical insights were important to develop interpretations from residents' encounters at these contexts. Later, during the process of thesis writing, I expanded on these insights by undertaking a thematic analysis of data from fieldnotes and interviews, and of visual inputs collected as complementary sources (Potter & Wetherell, 1987). Revisions and reflections on narratives and social practices led to the emergence of salient topics or recurrent categories used in this work. Furthermore, I used bibliographic references to complement or contrast observations raised at these sites, including the scarce references found to document case studies. In addition, my exposure to international environments and my visits to markets out of Lima were highly relevant in maintaining a critical regard and engagement to local contexts and cases.

I had to be permanently reflexive about my positionality during research experiences. Each site represented a different landscape from which I obtained rich and varied information that I had to analyse under a reflexive and critical regard. In the ethnographic practice, the researcher's position may impact on the outcomes given data is processed by the researcher and next to his or her previous knowledge about the context, relationships with spaces and/or subjects, among other aspects that may influence or complicate his or her intervention during the research practice (Back, 1996). In this sense, the main challenges I found from my positionality were to undertake this project as a Lima resident and customer, as a researcher and as woman.

Being born and raised in Lima, I was acquainted with the areas where the case studies are located and was aware of the insecurity and traffic congestion at streets surrounding the markets. Nonetheless, I was not familiar with the markets, these were completely new to me. On every visit, I committed to the exercise of rebuilding my knowledge about the areas and to discover the

markets, from the inside, as a frequent participant in these spaces, not just as a passer-by as before. My work aims to reflect this commitment. Nonetheless, these also reflect challenges in the analysis from assuming only one role for the observation practice. This way I reconstructed traders' activities and experiences from my position as a friend and customer but not by actually taking part in their labour activities. Most importantly, I addressed traders' roles, as described before, through the proximity established with a group of them that allowed me to gain in-depth observations from close and frequent experiences next to their activities.

Likewise, I often had to deal with the little support provided to knowledge production from academia. I experienced this when willing to establish communication with actors from public entities, for interviews or for requesting certain data on markets and the municipal administration. I found public agents were not familiarised with researchers and were distrustful with third parties collecting information, or in other cases, they were not willing to share information in order to hide internal deficiencies. There were also municipal representatives who were not acquainted with mechanisms for knowledge production in their organisations and did not identify contributions to their work. In addition, I had difficulties in accessing particular sources of data (such as market maps, regulations and renewal plans) from traders, as well as in reaching agreements to conduct interviews with traders and customers. This was mainly due to their distrust towards my research interests and fear of threats to their commercial activities.

But distrust was not the only complication when trying to collect information and interviews with market users. I faced deeply marked gender differences at the open space of markets and had to deal with stares, voices or particular treatments to women:

Fieldnote Mercado N.1 04/02/15

When I passed by Victor's stall, I felt his gaze and he told me "you look very pretty today". He is another male trader who usually has that type of comments and attitudes, and which I have learned to manage.

In time, I got acquainted to these sorts of expressions and learned how to respond – with friendly comments, jokes or ignoring uncomfortable attitudes. On occasions, I used these as entry points for starting conversations with male traders or customers, especially during moments of participant observation. However, for interviews, I had to be careful when choosing informants, and had to make clear the research purposes of my request. Even though, I was aware it could be misinterpreted as it occurred in a few cases. Even if gender roles were present in relationships among market users, these were not raised as characterising their memories and reflections on these spaces. Thus, this topic has not been directly addressed in this research, although it has been the main subject for other works on market traders and labour inequalities for female vendors (Aliaga, 2017; Babb, 2008).

On top of these challenges, the research practice allowed me to critically immerse myself in the environment of each market analysed, as well as to face limitations from these environments for raising fuller understandings of the conditions framing encounters. I address such limitations for untangling markets in the next section.

3.4 Market Environments and Limitations from Study

Markets are dynamic centres, characterised by changing arrangements and relations among market users and resources. These conditions define markets' distinctive identities (Seligmann, 2015), as well as the complexity of their environments and experiences of encounter. In that sense, as various traders raised during interviews, markets cannot be described through daily routines because every day, there are variable aspects seasoning the market pace. There may be times for unloading products, peak hours for main meals, and opening and closing schedules, but daily you find new faces at every corridor, conversations leading to joyful interactions or expressions of discomfort, or perhaps maintenance failures that impact on users' circulation around market sites. These aspects provided me with hints of underlying relations producing these environments, highly adaptable to the actions and motivations of their participants. Based on this, empirical discussions in this thesis depart from my own reconstruction of market environments, which imply qualitative approximations and interpretations on such aspects shaping encounters. Nonetheless, acknowledging markets as living spaces, as well as the knowledge gaps and challenges from data collection, I identify the limitations for deepening understanding of markets' governance, social composition and pressures from surroundings.

Understanding appropriation and management arrangements at both markets was one of the limitations. I developed approximations to these aspects from observing the distribution and daily operation of stalls. I realised that certain market businesses occupied more than one regular vending space and hence, these businesses appeared under unequal extension and visibility at these sites. Market plans I could access from market managers, or find in market walls, did not accurately show that vending spaces were not equally distributed and of unequal size, nor portrayed the real number of these in current operation. It could be that market businesses operated in two or more contiguous vending spaces, or in various spaces distributed across the market.

For instance, it applied to certain ceviche restaurants in both cases. There were also traders who occupied various vending spaces for different purposes: part of these would be for trading and the rest, for storage. This was the case of certain traders at Mercado N.1. As their colleagues raised during interviews, this occupation of market spaces for storage was not necessarily visible since these would remain closed during opening times.

Moreover, the occupation of these spaces could be formally established, by the formal acquisition or rent of these, or informally, by the arbitrary appropriation of these by traders or by agreements not formally registered with market managers. These topics would be raised among market colleagues but were difficult to raise with market managers – traders or municipal authorities – or those traders implied in ‘hidden’ arrangements. Discussing the formal appropriation of vending spaces would lead to traders or market managers to point at presumed acts of illegality or abuse from one or other actor, and to their inconformity with procedures in market governance. This was similar to conditions reported for small entrepreneurs, who may be subject to free market regulations and the blurred lines between formal and informal systems for small businesses operation (Muñoz & Rodríguez, 1999). Nonetheless, I could not back up these observations and comments with reports on markets and urban governance challenges in these areas. Collecting richer information on governance relations at inner urban areas can expand these outcomes and contribute to build such informative sources.

Family trajectories at markets complicated the panorama of stalls’ distribution. There were families with various members owning vending spaces. In certain cases, these spaces were inherited and in others, these were acquired in time, along with the growth of these families. Also, there were cases in which family members decided to merge their businesses and go for more profitable concepts, and in others, there were families who decided to divide the market business – when facing internal difficulties such as parents’ separation and family conflicts, for instance. Likewise, it could be the case that family members decided to no longer work at markets – as happened for several old traders’ descendants – and thus, stalls owners decided to rent their spaces to

other interested parties. These arrangements were internally set and not necessarily communicated to the managing board. These situations showed me the intricacies that every stall and business would bring about. Hence, I decided to acknowledge these multiple conditions for individual operations and focused instead in addressing concerns on how these individuals managed to operate together.

Another limitation was in establishing the balance in gender and ethnicity. To develop my discussions, I used approximations from observations and conversations with market users at both markets. This balance was not clearly outlined from an accurate register of teams per stalls nor on the availability of studies describing the composition of markets' attendance. From observations only, it was hard to estimate given that on every visit, the market composition changed. According to the size and demand, market businesses could be run by one trader, as in the case of meat stalls mainly, or by teams of ten people, mainly in successful *cevicherias*. There were also variations in trading teams per stalls according to the day or selling season – with new workers joining or leaving. Often these new workers were family members and, in this regard, family trajectories also added particular notes to the changing group composition.

In terms of gender balance, there was an overall larger number of female than male market users. Most stalls were led by female traders, but the number of male stall leaders was still important. The predominance of women traders at markets was reported by studies on urban markets in the Peruvian highlands, but the gender balance at these Lima markets was not as unequal as described in those cases (Babb, 2008; Seligmann, 2015). Moreover, these studies described how the predominant group of female traders arrived at markets moving out of home labours or following lines of family inheritance, and described how they were also in charge of leading operations at these highland markets. Nonetheless, I could not translate the same situation to Lima's markets. For instance, when meeting male traders, I often encountered they had inherited their businesses from their parents; there was also a small group of new entrepreneurs exploring their chances at markets. Likewise,

there were businesses in which the team of workers was mostly composed by men rather than women.

In terms of ethnicity, I encountered mixed national backgrounds among traders but the *Limeño* origin was predominant. Although highland backgrounds are strongly present all over the city and are frequently assigned to market workers, my observations and conversations with various members of this group showed me that their backgrounds were already mixed with stories and trajectories of living and dwelling in this coastal city. There were certain older traders and street vendors in market surroundings, mainly female, that wore traditional dresses from the highlands, and this was a noticeable sign of their origins. Nonetheless, this was not a predominant feature among traders at these sites.

Among visitors and customers, there were also variations in number and group composition throughout the day, week, and time of the year (i.e. close to holidays or special periods - government elections, environmental phenomena, among others). Overall, women were also the predominant group, and this was particularly noticeable during weekdays. Middle age to older women were regularly at these sites looking for home supplies. However, during weekends the balance changed since male presence grew. Alone, in couples or in family groups, men were easily encountered shopping for fresh or prepared food. Ethnicity could also be described as predominantly from mixed national backgrounds but with a *Limeño* origin. From my observations, elements for developing this understanding were language, physical features and the known backgrounds composing the majority of Lima's population (Protzel de Amat, 2011). Customers conducted and referred to themselves as belonging to the modern city, and drew lines of difference with traders, of assumed migrant status.

Finally, another limitation was on addressing changes in market surroundings, since I aimed to raise understandings on how these sites connected to streets and to economic and social activities in the public realm. Nonetheless, the brief comments from market users' on changes in market areas, as well as the

missing municipal or research reports in this regard, did not support in-depth arguments on urban transformations and the potential future of these areas. Thus, although proving the intrinsic connections between street and market dynamics, information on urban localities is required for strengthening contributions for urban planning and governance. Being aware of these limitations was crucial in maintaining the adequacy and objectivity of the empirical discussions on market encounters and negotiations for living in common in the inner-city.

**

This way, Chapters 4 to 6 address the key enquiries shaping this work and develop from the outcomes of my reflexive analysis on the collected data. Each of the following analytical chapters covers a field of encounter identified from this study (Table 1): management, imaginaries and exchanges. Also, each engages with research enquiries under two sections (Tables 2 and 3). The first section situates the corresponding field of encounter within sources of urban fragmentation impacting on experiences at markets. These forms of encountering are also addressed in relation to assets shared – mainly food items. The second section explores actions and underlying values among market users, which reflect negotiations over fragmentations that allow for the being together.

Moreover, accounts on market experiences and research arguments are brought together by following aspects characterising market environments, which allowed me to depart from observable elements and immerse myself into varied forms of encounter. Hence, encounters around markets' management are described from operations in markets' management and use – for instance, raising observations on markets' maintenance; encounters around market imaginaries are described from the visibility and popularity of food offers at markets – for instance, identifying images and meanings that raised such visibility. Finally, encounters around market exchanges are described from interactions among market users, accompanied by observations on the physical conditions influencing the proneness or not to

interact. This way, the following chapters address being together at markets as determining how these spaces are built and sustained from acting in common and sharing purposes over these realms.

4. Collaborations over private operations in markets' management

"I think it might be lacking [good] management and planning, I don't know if from the municipality, or maybe they can get organised and have another vision on the business they have, that's missing among the market traders"

(Nidia, customer, San Jose Market)

This chapter focuses on encounters around markets management, questioning what these reveal about collaborations over market-led interventions in urban governance impacting on markets' functioning. In that intention, I followed operations in markets' management and use as everyday 'tactics' (De Certeau et al., 1998) shaping the physical settings but also implying forms of active or absent participation in the functioning and continuation of these sites. As it has been reported for markets in Lima (Tello & Narrea, 2014), these are often found as neglected spaces and the two cases in this research face as well this situation. Market users reported concerns on the maintenance of markets from what they could closely observe in their commercial and consumption experiences. They mainly pointed at issues of infrastructural maintenance and commercial operations which did not favoured their prevalence against private spaces of modern and individualistic practices of commerce – as in the case of supermarkets.

These concerns point at fragmentations from a context of private and profit-making imperatives, impacting on processes of urban development and affecting these traditional spaces of everyday commingling (Babb, 2008). Market users agreed in this respect, stating that changing aspects in management and commercial operations at these sites took place along changes in the political economy of the city. Moreover, their operating

conditions were described as resulting from little or ineffective actions to overcome the negative aspects on the services provided, as stated above by Nidia, customer at San Jose Market. In that sense, there have been implicit collaborations among urban actors, particularly among traders, to keep these spaces alive but there are still missing concrete actions from those inherently involved in their functioning. In addition to traders working and taking direct decisions over markets' management use, there are also municipal authorities surveying the services provided as well as customers participating in these spaces through their commercial engagements or disengagements.

Private operations in management and use

The first section of this chapter situates encounters around markets' management (See Section 2.2.1). I addressed how management operations at markets responded to changes in the political and economic context of the city, mainly over the last two decades - a period of democratic transition (Joseph et al., 2008). Moreover, I raised how these implied private over collective purposes on shared resources among residents. Market-led rationales in public governance, instituted at national and regional scales, introduced various forms of fragmentation from the privatisation of spaces, services and forms of appropriating the city (Portes & Roberts, 2005). These brought about turns that worked against the shared purposes and actions that drive local and collective economic centres. Impacts on Lima and its markets can be observed in reduced public authorities' responsibilities over the management of local open spaces, leaving these to a good extent to private interests and profitable interventions (Vega Centeno, 2014). Moreover, impacts can be observed in the establishment of political and economic development priorities based in competitive relations among urban actors, privileging private gains and individual economic power (Caravedo, 2013). These have affected public engagements and opportunities for living in common, for instance by not looking after the management and maintenance of spaces for everyday commingling and urban living.

This transition from public to private imperatives and modes of urban governance are addressed in these case studies by looking at conflicts among traders and authorities in the appropriation and management of markets. These were described in relation to markets' privatisation processes that were supported by traders in their aims to respond to the absent interventions from public authorities in markets' management. However, conflicts emerged between traders and these authorities, given their contrasting interests in the appropriation and use of market spaces – for traders, a centrepiece for their livelihoods and for municipalities, profitable properties. Complicating these relations, the context encouraged a strong competitiveness among traders as well as against private forms of commerce, mainly supermarkets (Filgueiras, 2009). This situation was referred as shaping operations at both markets, not favouring the physical and social conditions in which everyday activities take place, and leading to manifestations of distrust, lack of consensus and unequal political and economic participation.

Collective operations

The second section explores negotiations over tensions from markets' management (See Section 2.3.1). I observed these negotiations from operations undertaken to secure collective over private interests out of markets' use. Moreover, I observed these as leading to counteract private interventions and develop collaborations among market users. In that sense, I firstly identified tensions in managing the shared workspace. Traders were urged to become involved but often responded as being mainly driven by the concern of securing their individual livelihoods (García Calderón, 2006). Even if conforming associations and becoming legal owners of markets, a strong sense of individual competitiveness among these small entrepreneurs undermined their collective efforts (Muñoz & Rodríguez, 1999). Municipalities maintained roles in the surveillance of the services provided by marketplaces, such as those related to safety in food provisioning, but restricted their interventions to the extent to which markets proved their profitability. For customers and municipal authorities, traders were the main or only actors in charge of undertaking improvements and in securing the continuation of

marketplaces in spite of management challenges. Given they were aware of the not so favourable conditions in infrastructure and commercial operations, customers described markets as being shaped by traders' for-profit motivations and urban modernisation trends.

I develop next on markets' commercial operations affecting services provided to customers. Despite there is a largely missing involvement with the common space in market users' narratives, I looked at possible responses to challenges on urban governance and engagements in markets' continuation and regulation – for instance, through customer participation in markets' defence, or public-private agreements in protecting these local economic centres (Low, 2014; Medina & Alvarez, 2009). Although customers did not regard themselves as taking part in claims or demands for the improvement of these spaces, they described their participation through consumption practices and from these, described an implicit regulation of market operations and services. Moreover, traders and customers referred to external actors being involved on commercial struggles or successful initiatives at these spaces. These were mainly linked to gastronomic activities raising new economic opportunities at markets (APEGA, 2013; Valderrama, 2016). From these opportunities on food consumption, I could identify raising expectations and potential implications for collective engagements with the everyday making of marketplaces. On top of the conflicts and concerns raised from markets' management, there may be shared purposes leading to possible collaborations in the governance of local spaces and encourage more explicit ways in which residents can participate in their good functioning through their common use.

Market stories

I start this chapter's narrative from the example of ceviche consumption, a dish typically associated with traditional spaces of food consumption, and highly demanded in both case studies. I refer to this everyday practice as being affected by the conditions in which markets are found and the management challenges under which these conditions are explained. In the first section, ceviche is taken as an example of typical market offers and similarly to other

market activities, its consumption has been undermined by concerns on cleanliness and maintenance. These reflect political, economic and built environment processes not favouring these open spaces. The second section moves on to address urban agents' capacities for becoming involved in markets' management and recovery. It particularly looks at public and private management arrangements for each market, the diverging interests among traders engaging with the management of each, and the little involvement of other public and private agents, directly or indirectly influencing on market operations – such as municipalities, consumers and private agents influencing processes of food consumption. I follow with a closer attention to individual purposes and uses guiding commercial activities around food, which reveal the little engagement of traders and customers with the collective services of these sites. Finally, I look again at ceviche consumption as a commercial potentiality but also as an example of an avenue for bringing attention back to markets and their roles for residents' commingling and participation in the city.

On the whole, the aim has been to move discussions beyond conflictive interests and interventions, mostly for profit, pointed out as undermining the conditions in which markets are found. Explorations on these case studies raise the need of rethinking their everyday making, addressing how urban agents from different sectors bring about different views and forms of participation in markets' functioning while also building up relations of trust that sustain the continuation of markets' services. Including these various voices also implies to develop governance frameworks that secure the effectiveness of management operations for the collective of urban users (Morales, 2010; Watson & Studdert, 2006). This remains as an open discussion for rethinking the common space.

4.1 Private operations in markets' management

“when the economy changed [under neoliberal measures] in Peru, more [super]markets started to appear... Metro, Wong, Vivanda appeared. All of us here [traders] had a bit of fear, but little by little we have lost that fear and we have made it work because we have a fixed clientele. But people [traders] should thank God because customers come in, because honestly, to change the way of thinking [on markets' management] on everyone, they would have to be born again.”

(Ines, trader, Mercado N.1)

Markets can be found all over the city and are largely sought for being accessible providers of quotidian and typical products (Filgueiras, 2009). Moreover, as acknowledged by gastronomic promoters, markets display and offer the enjoyment of gastronomic resources and traditions (Valderrama, 2016). However, after urban development plans set with the modernization of the city, marketplaces have faced struggles for their conservation and are found as less desirable to visit than modern spaces of consumption, as in the case of restaurants or supermarkets that may offer the same products and dishes.

The situation worsened when public authorities formally reduced their functions in controlling and regulating these spaces. They were backed by a political and economic context that encouraged the institutionalisation of policies and interventions that moved public interests out of residents' needs to the profit of individual entities and elite minorities (Ludeña, 2010). In accordance to Ines' statements above, the competitive commercial environment and the challenges for reaching collective agreements among traders have impacted on market operations. In that sense, I raise factors of the urban context underlying such conditions and residents' encounters around these matters.

4.1.1 Ceviche at markets: Concerns on maintenance and governance operations

To eat ceviche is a long tradition in coastal areas of Peru, especially in the northern region, since it is a dish that matches well the warmer temperatures of these areas (Valderrama, 2007). Given Lima hosts the largest portion of Peru's population, the city has adopted popular practices from every corner of the country (Protzel de Amat, 2011). Eating ceviche is not an exception and it is actually a favourite. Time and place to eat it are important considerations for any knowledgeable consumer – and this is something *Limeños* are proud to be.

The dish is based on raw fish cooked in lime juice, to which chilli is added. Onions, corn, sweet potato, beans, seafood products among other ingredients are also added as sides according to the traditions of different locations – and to the taste of the cook, in order to create variations and add special flavours. To eat ceviche is usually linked to the idea of sharing this treat with groups of friends or family, preparing and eating it at home, or buying it at places where people know will get the expected balance of acidity, spiciness and freshness.

These considerations explain why it is not preferred as an evening dish and it has to be prepared in the moment - '*al momento*' - it is going to be eaten (Interview SJM-T4). Either at home or at *cevicherías* (restaurants specialised in ceviche), cooks and consumers know they have to follow these rules. Given market products are valued for their freshness and fish is a basic product on offer, *ceviche* is frequently found at these places and it is considered for many consumers as a good and reliable choice (See Figure 4.1).



Source: El Comercio, 2016

Figure 4.1 Alicia preparing *ceviche* at San Jose Market.
Portrayed on national newspaper note: “Best 6 markets to eat in Lima”.

Nonetheless, *Limeños* today may argue against the quality of fresh foodstuffs such as ceviche at markets. Considerations on market food, more than arising from food itself, are strongly linked to the deficient maintenance conditions in which these are handled, factors that mostly rely on traders as main agents in charge of their management. Roles and functions of markets have been losing relevance in the midst of raising private alternatives, even if this type of commerce is still preferred for households’ supply of foodstuffs and basic needs (Tello & Narrea, 2014). Their situation is a portrait to the city, as Filgueiras (2009) described, and regarding their management, a portrait to transitions in urban governance.

Markets in Lima are often found as neglected spaces given their functions for city residents tend to be ignored by urban development actors and governing bodies. Their management has often relied on inadequate or insufficient interventions for their conservation, reflected for instance in problems of

cleaning and maintenance that likewise affect customers' reliance on the quality provided by these sites. As representatives of the gastronomic association pointed out, the revaluation of these spaces relies on "[good] management, service and good handling practices" (El Comercio, 2015) in order to respond to consumers' demands in a highly competitive context. Markets have undergone changes along political and economic transitions at local and regional levels. Given their provisioning of services for the public, corresponding local and national authorities had an active involvement in markets' supervision. However, the institution of neoliberal policies brought about changes for marketplaces in terms of being subject to the privatised forces that reshaped arrangements for their appropriation and management.

In the 1980s, Peru experienced a political and economic crisis that followed the failure in models of substitution of imports, through which governments in turn were attempting to encourage local industrialization without an adequate arrangement of legal and economic conditions that could back the reduced foreign income. In addition, they dealt with a lack of resources to face foreign debts and population demands (Portes & Roberts, 2005). This crisis was experienced along the social conflicts of that decade, raised by the internal violence emerging from military and civic confrontations with terrorist movements and the weak representation of political parties on social demands. In Lima, there were added demands on opportunities for survival from an overpopulated city, resulting from the migratory boom of residents from inner regions in previous decades (Protzel de Amat, 2011). Fujimori's government in the 1990s responded with promises of recovery from this critical period by instituting a dictatorial scheme and introducing neoliberal adjustments (Babb, 2008).

Even if new regulations from this regime controlled aspects of the economic crisis inherited from past governments, such as the hyperinflation and a non-responded foreign debt, the political economy led residents to find their own paths to survive the limiting conditions experienced at the micro level. Thus, subsequent urban governance arrangements backed privatisation processes

of public services and properties, along with threatening the conservation of common spaces, which became subject to profit making interests of landowners and investors (Portes & Roberts, 2005). In that sense, by restating their roles in the governance of urban spaces as markets, public and private actors have affected everyday activities at these but not in the sense of supporting their well-functioning for city residents. By weakening relations and engagements among urban agents and of them with urban spaces, this context also portrays a lost sense of shared purposes and collective services these local sites can provide (Vega Centeno, 2014).

This way, the 1990s were also hard times for markets given political economy changes got translated into poor commerce and working conditions. This situation was pictured by Babb (2008) in her ethnographic account for the Central market of Huaraz, city in the highlands of Peru, but this situation was actually replicated across municipal markets, as it was recalled by traders in both case studies, and also recalled by customers I could exchange views with during my visits. Markets faced a reduced protection and surveillance of the services these provide. Municipalities are still in charge of surveying the quality of food products and buildings' maintenance, but in most cases these tasks are not successfully accomplished.

From the introduction of free market measures, municipal and national regulations have formalised the reduced roles of public administrators in overseeing commercial activities taking place at sites of public use. The allocation of public expenditure was then limited for these purposes, even if markets are known to require external regulation to secure adequate levels of quality and safety of their services to residents. Plans for the recovery of marketplaces appear as basically ignored by public authorities. These do not seem to be aligned to their economic and political priorities (García Calderón, 2006). Hence, interventions have been limited mostly because of disagreements in interests among municipalities and traders, and traders had to adapt to the self-regulation.

This reduced attention towards market services made them appear as especially vulnerable to health threats. For instance, the spread of cholera in the Peruvian coast during the early 1990s worsened the reliability of food commerce in markets since these were seen as sites of potential infection due to their already deficient maintenance as public sites. Products such as seafood were especially regarded as health threatening, as some of the old fish traders mentioned when bringing memories of that decade into our conversations. Jorge, a *ceviche* cook at San Jose market, remembered his family and him worked then as fish traders and thus suffered from the economic difficulties brought about by the strong decrease on fish sales during the cholera period. Jorge told me that even when the epidemic was controlled and alerts on seafood were cancelled, it was not easy to revive their businesses. In that way, the reduced functions of public authorities and the hard-economic times got translated into reduced sales and struggles to secure the reliability of marketplaces.

In this context, food products and dishes available at these places have been frequently marked by the poor cleanliness and bad maintenance in which these sites, as a whole, are often found. Traders have faced this situation by undertaking private and individual initiatives rather than collaborations for the maintenance and endurance of these open spaces. Competitive economic environments, private-led governance systems and debilitated relations among market users undermined possibilities to collectively overcome conflicts on markets' management and use. This situation has led to their infrastructural decline and to weaken the quality of their services (El Comercio, 2015).

Markets have survived under unequal access to commercial opportunities, unevenly competing with private forms of food commerce, mainly supermarkets and malls – to which market customers started moving as alternative supplying options. These private and enclosed spaces have been largely favoured by public authorities supporting these sorts of investments regarded as signs of modernity (Municipalidad de Miraflores, 2007). This situation encouraged an economic context of strong competitiveness were

markets operate along new businesses favoured by urban policies and modern consumption practices.

In this line, Babb (2008) evaluated the impacts of the 1990's political economy on traders' labour at the Central market of Huaraz. The author found that they were also subject to unfavourable working conditions, operating under terms established by private intermediaries or contractors, but also forced to adapt to the informal and illegal economy through which they had to operate (Babb, 2008). In that respect, traders had to respond to the primacy of self-reliance in responding to these political and economic inequalities, becoming engaged in a sort of "forced entrepreneurialism" (Roberts & Portes, 2006). As well as encouraging residents in the creation of sources of employment and income, individual responses have also fallen into illegal systems and raised illegal appropriations and criminal actions, reflected in turn in distrust and less cooperation among residents.

Moreover, urban changes implied the intensive use and growth of market commercial areas by increased numbers of vendors, buildings, consumers and vehicles circulation, which also brought about negative impacts in terms of security and maintenance of markets and surroundings (Municipalidad de Lima, 2013). As Roever (2005) described, in reference to informal street commerce in Lima, free market measures in urban governance opened a cycle of "non-enforcement and non-compliance" (p.28), among authorities and residents as economic agents. Under these conditions, traders responded to the challenges of the coming times, defending their livelihoods in spite of the limitations of infrastructural maintenance and the negative images built over years of troubled political and social environments. Nonetheless, they had to deal with tensions in the collective management and use of common workspaces.

These concerns were especially raised by vendors on thriving fields of food commerce. For instance, *ceviche* cooks at both markets acknowledged that the freshness of fish is key in the quality of the dish and therefore they paid more attention to the conditions in which they prepared and offered it.

Nonetheless, as Lorenzo, *ceviche* cook at Mercado N.1 of Surquillo, raised during the interview, traders have not equally committed to look after market's management and conservation. Hence the site as a whole has been hard to recover, and this is what ultimately marks customer experiences (See Figure 4.2):

"My stall can be clean but maybe I go to another section in which I see a rodent, and they [customers] think about it as a whole, they see the market as a whole." (Lorenzo, trader, Mercado N.1)

These unpleasant experiences have affected markets' reliability for customers, and the scarce efforts on the maintenance of the shared spaces have also raised conflicts among market managers and workers.



Figure 4.2 Lorenzo's renewed and expanded stall at Mercado N.1.
April, 2016

4.1.2 Public management but for-profit maintenance of common spaces

While remaining public, traders were legally restrained to undertake improvements because they were not the formal owners. Financially they also experienced limitations given the investment was high if they wanted to renew markets and even more if they wanted to level their services to those of supermarkets, the strongest form of private commerce and competition since the enforcement of market-led regulations. The situation forced them to reach certain collective agreements and defend the sale of their markets in order to face the already privatising context. In this context, the privatisation law of municipal markets was promulgated by the end of the 1990s (Peru - Law N° 26569, 1996), after the intervention of traders from markets at national level who organised and claimed for more equal conditions to compete in the commercial and labour market.

This law was mainly directed to facilitate traders' acquisition of markets and give them formal and independent conditions to respond to markets' needs and struggles. Moreover, it regularised the already reduced functions of public authorities. Hence, management tensions were mainly dealt with the privatisation of markets. In the majority of municipal markets, traders decided to associate and acquire these properties in order to work towards their recovery, becoming the formal owners and mainly in charge of their regulation, but this implied major negotiations in collective and individual interests over markets' operation. Only few of these markets, mainly old municipal sites, are still under the management of public authorities. Even if the acquisition of markets by traders was widely encouraged, in some of these cases traders and municipal authorities did not reach agreements during the selling process, and face today particular tensions with their respective public administrator. This is the case of Mercado N.1. Observing its conflicts in management led me to question the visions on public management from municipalities still administering the few remaining municipal markets in the capital.

Sandra, a poultry trader at Mercado N.1 for about 40 years, remembered that during its early decades, the market used to be regularly visited by staff from ministries, municipalities and the police, who went to supervise various aspects of market's functioning, such as commerce activities and infrastructural conditions. They were in charge of regulating prices, which had to be in accordance to what was publicly determined by the correspondent authority – 'it was a State's duty' - and traders were required to show boards with the complete price list to inform customers. Ministries and municipal visitors were also in charge of surveying the sale of products, for instance in traders providing the right weight measures, for which supervisors revised the operation of stalls' scales and checked that markets had scales for public use. Likewise, they supervised the cleanliness of stalls, corridors and spaces for food collection and storage, handling and disposal. Sandra also remembered the regular visit of municipal policemen who looked after the good use of spaces inside the market, sanctioning those traders using areas out of what they had been allocated and assessing the safety of the building in case of accidents or natural disasters (i.e. earthquakes).

According to Sandra, traders did not necessarily regard privatised functions as negative. Reduced public surveillance to their activities implied less restrictions and need to comply with public regulations, hence more freedom to operate according to their own priorities. As she told me during the interview:

"now it's calmer. They only demand us to be cautious, clean, to control what we do. That's it. They don't bother as before. Before it was very annoying. (...) now it's more or less free, you have to see how much you pay, how much is the demand, who gives you [products] cheaper, there are also different qualities [from providers] – how they deliver it [products] to you, how it arrives. [For health standards] the only official control [comes] from the municipality. Before it was the ministry, they came 2 or 3 times a week, also the police and the municipality. (...) they controlled prices and weight." (Sandra, trader, Mercado N.1)

Nonetheless, these reduced roles included as well overseeing conditions for traders to secure their livelihoods in hard economic environments and providing customers with adequate spaces of provisioning.

Municipal administrations have not been able to respond to market requirements to fully function as public, working and commercial spaces for city residents. For public representatives I could talk to, markets should prove their economic viability in order to defend their persistence. Representatives at the Municipality of Surquillo explained the few municipal actions at the marketplace – basically the weekly cleaning of the building and the daily visit of municipal policemen mainly to nearby streets – on the fact that traders do not collaborate with them. Octavia, manager of the Economic Development Office at the Municipality of Surquillo and the authority responding for this market's management, referred to traders as responsible for the little actions undertaken at the market, of abusing the fact of it being a public property and thus refusing to pay taxes, for which the municipality did not have the funds to involve further. Moreover, she mentioned traders having illegal manoeuvres and appropriating stalls without the correspondent permission (Interview MA-1). This municipal authority explained the restricted municipal functions as actually subject to bad relationships with traders – and the overall income they can obtain from them, which in fact is little:

Notes on Interview 1 – Octavia, Municipality, Mercado N.1

She explained that because of bad relations with traders, and the little or none income they represent to the municipality [from taxes]. The public administration undertakes the least possible actions in order to invest the least possible money there. She said they were in charge of cleaning and providing security, and therefore there were some municipal guards in the area. But the minimum effort was put on these activities. If there were other types of failures, such as problems with electricity, they leave traders to solve these. (...) Other municipal offices supporting the market's management are: Green Areas, in charge of cleaning floors once a week and fumigations two or three times a year; Sanitation, in charge of checking if all traders have licenses to work as food vendors – also paying visits in between long periods of time.

Diego, president of the trader's association, confirmed there were traders who did not pay the corresponding taxes, even if these were low, and also the fact that some traders had developed illegal actions, as appropriating stalls without municipal authorisation, or renting stalls that were actually of public property (Interview MN1–T4). Nonetheless, for traders, municipality's involvement in

the surveillance and management of the property was the hardest limitation to overcome for market's recovery. Traders stressed that even if they tried to address the infrastructural problems affecting the market, they still had to struggle with deficiencies on basic services provisioning at the site, such as water and electricity. Thus, the municipality was regarded as having limited capacities and intentions to provide public services, and this only secured lasting struggles for the market.

In conversations with traders, they described this lack of attention to the site as long standing, and widely based on the inefficiency of the institution in managing public spaces. They identified the latter, not only from the poor interventions at the marketplace but also in the surroundings, seen as neglected and the streets negatively contrasting with those of Miraflores, the neighbouring district, in terms of buildings' maintenance, security, traffic control, among other issues. Julia, trader at Mercado N.1, described these concerns (See Figure 4.3):

"The municipality only sends their trucks to pick up rubbish, that well, it's important. [How it is] Not done in an adequate way, because they make us all take our rubbish to Paseo de la República [main avenue next to the market], that is visible by everyone, and people come with their clean and nice cars and next to them, the rubbish trucks are parked, and the smell, the view (...) it's in the afternoon, around 4pm. It should be in the evening, at least, but because the staff works until 6pm. (...) we told them last year, in a meeting, that it didn't look well because it was next to Miraflores [the collecting point] but they didn't pay attention to that. (...) Only the committee or the board talk to them, but there's no fast agreement, very rarely there's a meeting with them." (Julia, trader, Mercado N.1)



Figure 4.3 Rubbish produced during the day outside the market building. Mercado N.1. March, 2015

Views from the Department for Municipal Markets Promotion at the Metropolitan Municipality of Lima, on the non-profitability of municipal markets, resembled those of the Surquillo administration. This office is in charge of looking after the adequate functioning of all metropolitan markets as providers of public services for residents. In a conversation with its manager, he gave me more insights on the understanding of public authorities' roles in this respect (Interview MA-4). Referring to public markets still managed by the Metropolitan Municipality, he argued that markets are not profitable businesses, mainly referring to the little income they receive from the low taxes that traders pay. Hence, there is no reason for the municipality to invest more in them and instead, they have to make the most of the limited budget assigned to maintain these sites. Even if recognising that what markets and traders do "is also part of the city", they did not project further actions for their recovery or for enhancing their situation. Instead, from this authority's explanations it emerged the lack of plans and long-term visions on these areas of public use.

Their destiny seemed to rely on the surge of more profitable activities and the interest of private actors that could change the course of these traditional spaces of commerce.

Partnerships or other forms of long-term collaboration to secure market's recovery for public use were not among their main considerations. This was even the case of authorities mentioning their awareness on initiatives of public or private-public partnerships in other cities, mentioning examples as Barcelona and Madrid with which they had had exchanges among municipal administrations. These metropolitan authorities had participated in meetings with representatives of these foreign referents, organised by the same municipalities or national government ministries. However, these exchanges did not imply setting further commitments, incentives or accompaniment for developing plans or applying what was learnt in the local market context (Ministerio de la Producción del Perú, 2016).

Likewise, initiatives of this sort, for strengthening management capacities, have been of limited scope, reaching only few markets in Lima. Moreover, these have not been sustained or not well articulated among urban actors, in the public sector and beyond, in order to ensure effective improvements at these sites. In the case of these urban administrations, with municipal markets still under their ownership and management, the little willingness of municipalities in collaborating with enhancing their functioning has been at the core of most of markets' drawbacks. The political commitment did not match the economic interest of receiving more income from those areas. Either by restricting their interventions, not reaching agreements with traders, or by not supporting their privatisation, these remaining municipal markets face struggles from urban governance in today's modernised Lima.

After meeting these authorities, I also visited that of the Municipality of Miraflores, neighbouring district to Surquillo and former owner of Mercado N.1. This authority gave me examples of alternative visions on collaborations, not only in the accompaniment for the privatisation, but also in the accompaniment of traders after this process. The authority of Miraflores Municipality, in charge

of surveying Miraflores' markets, explained that privatisation should be encouraged in order to support markets in the free economy, and thus traders' independent commercial activities. It could also favour the municipality in terms of the income generated by markets as private businesses, income that is supposed to be reinvested in public works. Moreover, for this authority, markets were considered as important centres for the district, for the potential revenues after the regeneration of market areas, as well as for the services provided to district residents. In that sense, they had undertaken actions that addressed traders' capacities at work, regarding them as actors for the improvement of markets' functioning, and for enhancing the environment in which neighbours carry out commercial exchanges and other daily activities (Interview MA-5).

For instance, at the only public market of Miraflores, Mercado de Santa Cruz, the public administration had started public activities as a campaign promoting healthy foodstuffs and for which they had invited chefs to the market to prepare dishes and encourage its consumption. This representative also shared a campaign undertaken at this market to promote the practice of reading, inviting market traders to read a book by borrowing one from an open set provided. Moreover, they organised training activities to offer traders with opportunities for improving their skills at work. This market was not going to remain public, in fact the privatisation was already projected, but the municipality was proceeding in the accompaniment of traders over the completion of that process.

All these activities seemed encouraging referents for municipal administrations, but Miraflores is a particular case in Lima. It is among the districts with higher income per capita, it is a touristic pole and a gastronomic centre, given it concentrates a high number of well-ranked restaurants (INEI, 2014). Miraflores also oversees the modernization of the district through the expansion of malls and renewed marketplaces (Municipalidad de Miraflores, 2007). But few municipalities have the same spending capacity that Miraflores at the level of Metropolitan Lima nor the same management capacities to conduct actions at market spaces. Despite this fact, this municipality offered a

local example of a distinctive perspective, as well as willingness from their authorities, on relating central economic activities, as tourism and commerce, to marketplaces (Interview MA-5).

For the majority of markets now under private administration, traders have made their way through the unequal conditions of the commercial landscape by forming independent associations but also by defending their livelihoods as independent entrepreneurs, securing these from economic and political pressures favouring larger businesses (Tello & Narrea, 2014). In securing their livelihoods, traders also work under independent and competitive aims, which set challenges in achieving consented goals in plans that involve overlooking for the integrity of markets and their functioning for the public. This has affected the services provided by markets, as in the case of food provisioning, but also in terms of the services provided by individual vendors, as in the handling practices that gastronomic representatives mentioned, or in looking after a secure environment of exchange and consumption for colleagues and visitors (El Comercio, 2015).

4.1.3 Competitiveness and individual responsibilities on private operations

In addition to management challenges, economic measures encouraged urban development projects led by private priorities in conflict with collective needs (Caravedo, 2013). These measures opened the entry for private businesses directly competing with marketplaces. The spread of supermarkets, most importantly since the 1990s, represented the introduction of strong alternative options for food provisioning, as well as referents in terms of the material conditions in which this activity could be undertaken. Supermarkets reflected effectiveness on their maintenance, and showed more control on the services provided. However, these also represent the dissociation to what may entail a public space of interaction and exchange with individual entrepreneurs and visitors that are likewise city residents.

Supermarkets then became the main threat for the survival of traditional markets and hence, for traders' livelihoods:

" (...) in its history, [San Jose] has always been a market full of people (...) there was a period when Metro [supermarket closer to the market] didn't exist, in which you couldn't walk along the corridors. In that time the municipality controlled the market, and it was always full of people. (...) That was until before Alan García [early 1980s]. When Metro came, it went down [the number of people]. (...) But in spite of everything, we still have clients that support us." (Jose, trader, San Jose Market)

San Jose market operates under a fierce competition with two large supermarkets located only few blocks away. Their close location seem to be strategic. In the same way are strategic the permanent price reductions these supermarkets are able to manage by dealing directly with producers, prices that traders are not able to match given they have to pay the additional costs of the intermediaries. For Sandra, the situation was similar at Mercado N.1 and in her opinion, *"supermarkets killed the market"*, also because traders were not enough prepared to compete with large businesses as these. Nonetheless, she considered they were in a better situation than other markets because they have had training opportunities and the support of other actors, such as the chef Gaston Acurio, who have helped traders to reach certain expected standards, for instance in food service, presentation and handling (Interview MN1-T3).

On the side of customers, they identified various competitive factors that have favoured the growing appearance of supermarkets: they were able to buy in more comfortable conditions, without carrying heavy bags, not rubbing along other customers, and not having to stand market smells and sights that were annoying for some. In addition, they could find everyday supplies at sometimes even lower prices than what traders offered, and they had the possibility to pay with credit and debit cards, thus differing payments when money was scarce or avoiding carrying money in cash, which could be uncomfortable and unsafe. Customers also find convenience in having supermarkets open until late – something markets have not been able to negotiate with municipalities yet –

thus adjusting to their work schedules. Thus, customers mainly described their food provisioning preference on supermarkets over markets mainly because of markets' failures on improving shopping and consumption experiences through better infrastructural conditions. Supermarkets then appeared as signs of modernity in the built environment and in residents' way of life (Filgueiras, 2009; See Figure 4.4).



Figure 4.4 Commercial street and supermarket near San Jose market, in Jesus Maria district. March, 2015

Traders also regarded these issues as yet to improve in order to compete in the free market. Nonetheless, they expressed their discomfort with the unequal competence they faced with supermarkets, especially because according to them, these businesses have facilities to rent or buy lands in their districts, and even to avoid municipal regulations and sanctions, such as those related to failure of tax payments and compliance with safety and health measures. They agreed on having identified the clear interests of public authorities on

encouraging these private investments and in generating profits from these. Evidently, this is not something municipalities would recognise (Interview MA-1; MA-4). However, the increasing number of spaces and urban dynamics affected by private commerce in market surroundings gave a sense of the perspectives on urban development managed from these institutions. These were also reasons for which traders claimed for public authorities' attention to the unequal opportunities they have.

Traders' associations have undertaken certain infrastructural changes in both markets. However, these have been minimal when compared to modern supermarket buildings appearing in their surroundings, the pace in which these have been built and even renewed, and the scale of these investments. In fact, traders and customers evaluated markets' good functioning under the light of what private standards dictate – order, control, cleanliness and comfort. At these private spaces of food provisioning, there were workers selected, trained and receiving a salary to follow those tasks. Several customers agreed on paying an extra cost, if needed, in order to access those enhanced conditions. Christian, a frequent customer of Mercado N.1, reflected on market services and traders' 'culture', in reference to their knowledge and capacity to undertake improvements:

“[improvements] seem to be according to the economic capacity of each trader. A supermarket has higher capital, whereas retailers have low capital. (...) People's disposition, each person's culture [also matter]. In a supermarket they select the staff whereas here, in a popular market, there are the owners who don't have much culture, or some of them may have some culture but they don't apply it.” (Christian, customer, Mercado N.1)

Same as other customers who had the chance to visit markets out of Lima and Peru, Andrés, customer at San Jose, further remarked that infrastructure and surroundings could be enhanced. For him, markets had to evolve along with urban changes, and compete with the private sector by creating or consolidating their own values and advantages for consuming at these sites, as has occurred for municipal markets in other cities:

“I think these have to transform. Lima has modernized a lot and the modern canal [of consumption] is retail (...) even though I know that much of the sales are in markets, for retail not to ‘eat’ them, their challenge is to maintain differences in price and quality of products, because people know the market has these benefits. (...) they should aim to be better markets as in other countries. At least the ones in Jesus Maria and Surquillo, which I think are the biggest ones should try to be like the Barcelona market, like the one in Sao Paulo, because those are big municipal markets. I think that would help them a lot.” (Andrés, customer, San Jose Market)

Nonetheless, for the cities he referred, markets have counted on the support of public mechanisms for keeping them as attractive centres for commerce (Medina & Alvarez, 2009). Nonetheless, interventions of this sort were missing for the cases addressed as well as for the accounts on other interventions around markets in Lima.

Regarding the local context, customers but also traders expressed how markets have not been able to match the conditions people prefer from supermarkets, or not able to offer service alternatives sufficiently attractive. For instance, during our interview, Antonio, a frequent customer of Mercado N.1, described the long-standing bad conditions he found there, mainly in terms of cleanliness and infrastructural upkeep:

“I don’t know how it’s managed, but in terms of infrastructure, I see it poor and I’ve always seen it poor. It’s not in good conditions, there’s always something to clean, some places need maintenance, a little drainage, a little flood, rubbish (...) it’s usual in the market. It’s also a bit dark, it seems to me, it’s not very well illuminated, but that’s because of the site’s architecture itself and actually, it’s possible to have municipal and other markets that are well taken care of, there are [such markets] in other countries.” (Antonio, customer, Mercado N.1)

Even if the mechanisms in which these changes can be done and the roles in management are often not clear, customers interviewed generally agreed on regarding markets’ enhancement, to a great extent, as being responsibility of traders. For them, one reason for traders’ failure in this task has been their lack of larger capital to invest and compete in an environment of larger

companies and infrastructural developments. Another reason raised was the fact that traders were not regarded as having the capacities and skills for making their businesses succeed, nor for offering adequate infrastructural conditions. Given they had not observed relevant enhancements in time, traders were frequently described as lacking or not being able to develop the skills to undertake improvements. Nidia, customer at San Jose market, referred to the need of support from authorities in attending the gaps in management competences:

“Maybe it’s a joint work with the municipality, which seems to me should take the initiative given the missing competences there are among market workers. [It can be] a development point for these people, and a way to offer a better service to neighbours. So, I think it could start from there.” (Nidia, customer, San Jose Market)

These explanations on the challenges faced by markets placed responsibilities mainly on traders in responding to the given commercial context. Even municipalities, that are supposed to look after the services provided to residents, placed responsibilities on traders for the operational deficiencies and for not facilitating good relationships with the public authority. This reasoning centred on traders is in accordance to what Babb (2008) observed for the Huaraz market, and as in that case, it seems to ignore inequalities from economic opportunities and residents’ capacities to appropriate and use privatised spaces and resources.

While adapting to such context, traders have focused their efforts into securing their livelihoods with the resources each individually has. *“Each one looks after their own benefit”* was a phrase repeated by several trader colleagues in both markets (Interview MN1-T4; SJM-T1). In this regard, individual and collective interests in relation to the market get into conflict and are translated into daily work, as well as in the visiting and consumption experiences of customers. Differing views on the running of the markets, the overall concerns on profit making from market managers, including public authorities, and the little attention on creating better spaces for users and visitors, added up to the challenges introduced by the urban scenario. These also added up to the

strong pressures on markets from direct competitors such as supermarkets. Traders' individual responses did not reach customers' expectations on spaces of commerce and interaction in modern urban living. While losing this preference, traders struggled to join forces through collaborations on markets' management and this stressed conditions over which customers had lost affiliation and trust on these spaces.

Customers' weakened affiliations to markets could be described from a participation reduced to commercial purposes, spending a limited amount of time in these spaces and developing no further links with individuals and elements encountered (Tello & Narrea, 2014). Moreover, residents' expectations on modern experiences – in terms of what is valued from supermarkets, such as qualities of comfort, security, privacy and readiness - have influenced preferences and reliability on markets. Thus, traders face the challenge to respond to such expectations, under the already difficult settings of a private-led governance context. Customers then demonstrated a limited involvement on markets' struggles in maintenance and administration. These observations could be extended to the limited civic participation reported for Lima's residents in the defence of public and central spaces, impacted by inequalities of economic, infrastructural or sociocultural order delimiting their use and access to the city (Cánepa, 2012). Urban dynamics inviting public or private developers to invest in the recovery of markets, as in urban renewal or gentrifications processes reported elsewhere (Medina & Alvarez, 2009 on examples from Buenos Aires and Barcelona), or manifestations in defence of these spaces (Low, 2015 on example about New York), have not been reported at least in the time frame comprised in this study. Changes in land values follow real estate forces and interests of the private sector that have continued to reproduce long-standing inequalities among socio-economic groups, as well as defined directions for urban growth (Vega Centeno, 2017).

In terms of other private actors, certain gastronomic promoters have shown interest in few markets of Lima, considered as emblematic. They were interested in improving traders' services by offering them training opportunities, as well as by attempting to enhance infrastructural conditions by

bringing about new visions on market settings. However, the complicated relations between municipalities and traders have discouraged interventions from these gastronomic actors. Despite of this, the Peruvian Gastronomic Association (APEGA) and popular chefs of Peru have included marketplaces in commerce and tourism discourses as well as in related projects they promote, which are part of the strategy for consolidating Lima as a culinary capital (APEGA, 2013; CEPLAN, 2012). There is still very little put into practice for markets' recovery and revaluation as part of this strategy. There have been certain attempts to implement programmes for the renovation of marketplaces from the public sector, mainly from the Ministry of Production, which conducts a national programme still under design and without a defined agenda (Ministerio de la Producción del Perú, 2016). Likewise, there are municipalities working in partnership with international organisations promoting initiatives for food security in Lima. An important example is the partnership between the Municipality of Lima and the Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations. However, these have been of limited scope, have not been sustained or not well articulated among urban actors, in the public sector and beyond, in order to ensure effective improvements at the sites.

In that sense, marketplaces, as common spaces, face the weak engagement of municipal and public authorities for overcoming barriers identified in Lima's governance. Moreover, there is a need for economic and political engagements from private and civic actors who relate to these shared spaces for more than commercial purposes. Hence, this context presents missing opportunities for encouraging collective actions from market operations, as in collaborations for their recovery. I continue by addressing such operations undertaken by market actors involved in their management.

4.2 Collective operations in markets' management

"We [traders' board] proposed to build a new market, so it can be more modern, cleaner, more organised (...) those plans are ready, people [traders] talked about the construction but nothing has been approved yet. The president [of the board] is the one who always proposes and looks for [construction] companies to offer the best alternative, but here there is always the fear: 'maybe the president will benefit with an X per cent', 'companies will benefit from the building and maybe they will kick us out', something like that, always that distrust."

(Alicia, trader, San Jose Market)

The main challenges to becoming private and maintaining operations for diverse public demands were the conflicts between individual and collective interests among market users. From their private or public forms of governance, it has been challenging for traders to reach agreements on common purposes over markets' administration. Traders have undertaken individual projects from their businesses as forms of adapting and defending their livelihoods from reduced responsibilities from the public side, and from their competitiveness with other independent agents. This is the case of supermarkets and small entrepreneurs, in and outside markets, who have also found opportunities in the free economy (Muñoz & Rodríguez, 1999).

Collective arrangements among associate traders for markets' management should follow after a market privatization, but these were complicated by the strong competitiveness of the economic environment, which led many to undertake actions and commitments driven by individual interests. Thus, a sense of competitiveness among traders and towards alternative supplying options, such as supermarkets, led to further complications from the disagreement of traders in regarding the market as a common good. As such, they had to negotiate their often-opposed visions and interests if they wanted

to secure their work spaces and achieve real improvements on the conditions in which these are found. Nonetheless, collective commitments have been hard to undertake given distrust, as Alicia raised above, has often characterised traders' relations and limited their collective actions. Without the support from key actors such as municipalities, and without counting on engaged customers defending operations at these traditional sites, negotiations on management collaborations have not always prospered. I move on to explore how market users have dealt with different management arrangements and taken possibilities from the urban context to preserve their workspaces, in the case of traders, and ensure the continuation of commercial operations, for both traders and customers.

4.2.1 Becoming private and maintaining public operations: the case of San Jose market

At San Jose market, traders actively engaged in defending its privatisation. As Carla, president of the traders' association and butcher at San Jose, remembered during our interview, in 1996 the municipality of Jesus Maria menaced them with closing the market. She was also the president in that year and recalled how, facing this situation, traders from market butcheries got together and started to discuss options, such as moving to a store, in order to avoid losing their jobs. However, these discussions led them to find out that buying the market from the corresponding public authority was their best option:

"So, we said 'why don't we raise a claim? With a claim, the municipality won't be able to take us out, and if they do, that will take at least a year... only a year, until we see where do we move'. And that's how it was, we started to do research on [property] documents and we got surprised when we found out that the land was State's property [not from the municipality]. So, we went to National Properties [office] to ask them to sell us the land." (Carla, trader, San Jose Market)

Carla proudly told me she used to participate in meetings with presidents of traders' associations from other markets in Lima, and even held meetings at San Jose to discuss the legalisation of market properties' sale. This is how these market representatives became involved in the promotion of a new regulation that could enable the privatisation of public markets. Agreements reached among traders in this direction allowed them to join forces. This way they faced obstacles urban actors and regulations restricting opportunities for small-scale entrepreneurs to grow and undertake improvements in disregarded areas of the public administration. As Carla further explained:

"On a 14th of February, we got together 14 markets - the Mercado Mayorista [wholesale market], us, Virrey Amat, various markets, and we formed the National Coordinator for Markets in the Privatisation Process, here, in my market. With them, we went to talk to Eng. Marquez, vice president of the country (...) because National Properties didn't want to sell. They said '(...) if I want I can sell it to you, but I don't, I won't, it's not an obligation for me to sell it'. So, facing that, they [higher national authority] gave a law in which many markets started to get privatised, we were one of the first. [And it was because of claims?] Yes, from us, from a group of presidents [of traders' associations] and we used to gather here." (Carla, trader, San Jose Market)

Shared struggles for survival pushed the more than 300 associates that conform San Jose traders' association to get involved and agree on the buying of the market and in making the arrangements for every associate to become the formal owner of his or her stall. Enrique, a trader related all his life to San Jose market (son of old traders and now owner of a grocery stall), remembered that the buying of the market was agreed in an assembly in which traders also discussed the general needs for changing and improving how the market was managed (Interview SJM-T2). Their participation at this point allowed for reaching consensus and undertaking the collective project of acquiring the market and protecting their livelihoods. San Jose market formally became property of its traders' association in the year 2000.

After the privatisation, roles of the municipality have been limited to functions such as the surveillance of market surroundings by security guards, mainly to prevent acts of crime and to supervise the load and unload of produce is carried out only during the early morning and does not obstruct circulation along nearby streets. Likewise, municipal representatives carried out occasional supervisions on food selling, to identify potential safety and health risks. But these supervisions have been in fact occasional and without a fixed periodicity, and without actually complying with the stated regulations on adequate practices and spaces for food selling. Even if these represent evident risks for consumers, there has not been much done from the side of public, private or civic agents to implement other mechanisms to address these issues (García Calderón, 2006). Thus, these have continued without stronger claims from any side to enforce the appropriate regulations. Traders, in that way, were mainly in charge of undertaking those supervisions and providing a safe environment for their customers (See Figure 4.5).



Figure 4.5 Private security at San Jose Market. February, 2015

Traders hire security staff to provide safety conditions in their daily operations. They help in looking after the well-functioning of the building and keeping out unwanted visitors such as thieves and informal vendors.

Municipal authorities were aware of the situation in which markets operated every day, as well as of the risks these may represent to traders and customers, but this awareness was not enough to reach higher involvement and support from the public side. According to Leo, a representative from the Sanitation office at Jesus Maria municipality, it was already of their knowledge that markets had problems of hygiene, for instance in water and food handling, and in food vending (Interview MA-2). As Leo reflected, the gastronomic boom and the interest it had risen on consumption at traditional places, such as San Jose market and street vendors, were not bringing awareness on health issues. For him, these may remain overlooked while there were actually several aspects on the processes of production, food handling and waste

management that urged for attention. Furthermore, being a biologist, he said he was aware of how these bad practices could lead to major infections and gastro intestinal diseases. Nonetheless, his and other municipal workers' knowledge of the situation was not enough to undertake further actions. Jesus Maria, as well as other municipalities in Lima, has centred interventions at markets only on what concerned their functioning as private and commercial entities. These are limited to looking after land use, sanitation and civil defence issues. Even if limited, as it was described by Leo and traders, these tasks have not been adequately accomplished.

Municipality of Jesus Maria has demonstrated support to San Jose traders throughout the privatisation process and also when they requested dialogues or specific forms of cooperation through activities with the municipality, as expressed by the municipal authority of the Economic Development Office, in charge of markets under this jurisdiction (Interview MA-2). Nonetheless, these actions have not represented the commitment of the municipality with adequately accompanying the provisioning of services to market users (García Calderón, 2006). Similarly, I found out that markets in other municipalities were commonly surveyed by offices for the management and promotion of economic development activities at the corresponding district. Thus, municipalities basically regarded markets as economically driven and their profitability dictated the extent to which efforts were placed on these spaces.

4.2.2 Public ownership without collective purposes: the case of Mercado N.1

Mercado N.1 faced the struggles of remaining a public property. Even if the municipality assumed their limited functions and tensions with traders, its authorities continued to refuse the ownership of the market to traders or to other interested parties. Looking at this, it became evident that for San Jose, as for the rest of markets today privatised, public authorities contributed in their respective cases by facilitating the completion of the privatisation process. The traders' association conformed in order to deal with markets' management and represent traders' interests in this process has not succeeded in demanding their right to privatise.

As explained by the municipal authority of the Surquillo municipality, market's ownership was seen as having a social cost implied on the services the site provides to residents, and on top of this, there were political and economic costs implied on controlling this important commercial area. However, the minimum interventions in the maintenance of the emblematic place reflected the limited capacities of this institution to develop and undertake plans for enhancing the conditions of that public property. By keeping its ownership and refusing to transfer it to traders, the municipality stressed the conflictive relations maintained with them.

Among older traders there was still nostalgia about the past, for the early years in which the market was responsibility of the Municipality of Miraflores. As Irma, trader at Mercado N.1, recalled, the market was in better circumstances and even better regarded because of the 'selected' clientele they served, describing in that way the upper-class Miraflores neighbours that used to buy at this market. Given the bad conditions of the market building and acknowledging the growing commercial potentialities of the site - more evident in recent years of rising gastronomic and touristic interest - Miraflores municipality went on a trial to claim back its administration and ownership. The proximity of the market is strategic to the district's commercial activities, mainly those in tourism and gastronomy. For these authorities, it is clear that the

solution for market's recovery is to proceed with selling the market to the traders' association, grouping around 200 associates, while accompanying them later in the repositioning and promotion of the site as a gastronomic attraction in Lima. This way of proceeding maintained the positive regards and higher reliability on this administration from Mercado N.1 traders, which contrasted to their claims to Surquillo municipality for a clearer vision and actions over the protection of this urban space.

After five years on trial, the rights of ownership and administration were finally conferred to Miraflores municipality in 2014. However, Surquillo municipality has refused to this transfer and thus it is still on hold. There have even been attempts from private and third sector actors to support in the privatisation and renewal of the market recognising the commercial and touristic value of the site. These actors, the Peruvian Association of Gastronomy (APEGA) and Gaston Acurio, the most popular chef and successful gastronomic entrepreneur of the country, developed different activities with traders – for instance, providing training in customer service.

Likewise, they developed plans for the recovery and transformation of the site – as some traders remembered, this included the relocation of food stalls and market restaurants in different and renewed areas, and also opening a gastronomy school on the top floor. The purpose of these intended interventions was to position the market as a high-quality food supplier and a gastronomic destination, purposes aligned to their work (See Figure 4.6). However, no progress could be achieved with these recovery projects, even if initially discussed and agreed with Surquillo municipality:

“[APEGA and Gaston Acurio] had a deal with the market. They wanted to support us but were not allowed to come in. They thought that there might be disagreements, I don't know, but it was Surquillo's major who didn't want [them to continue].” (Sandra, trader, Mercado N.1)

EL GRAN CAMBIO DEL MERCADO N° 1 DE SURQUILLO

Municipio distrital y Gastón Acurio se unen para llevar a cabo el proyecto gastronómico.



LA REPÚBLICA

Source: La República, 2009

Figure 4.6 Gastronomic plans for Mercado N.1.

"The great change of Mercado N.1"

This note informed about evolving plans between the municipality and the chef Gaston Acurio to renew and position this market as a gastronomic destination in the city. However, this initiative did not get to crystallise.

Traders mostly defended the need of a new administration – and this was also a reason why many justified refusing to pay taxes to Surquillo municipality. For them, the possibility of becoming owners of their stalls implied securing their jobs as well as aspiring for better working conditions, which the current public administration has not being able to provide. The position of the municipality of Surquillo, not fulfilling the needed functions on maintenance and not supportive of Mercado N.1 privatisation, has compelled traders to respond to the missing actions in maintaining the market running. However, in that purpose, differences have become evident among traders who do not see the market as own. As Sandra mentioned:

“we wanted to privatise [buy the market], we were already in the privatisation [process], until very recently, but now it’s over the time in which that privatisation law [was in force]. Now it has ended. How much we wanted to privatise... when it’s your own stall, you know how to make it better. You’re not wondering what will happen, you make it nicer because it’s yours. And they [other traders] would be willing to participate. If it’s painting, we would all paint, there would be more union.” (Sandra, trader, Mercado N.1)

Thus, for traders as well as for external agents, public and private, interested in the market site, the solution for securing good operating conditions is to pass the administration to the traders’ association. However, this process is not a direct solution for recovering the market. Taking into consideration the case of San Jose market, it is still key a supportive environment for traders to undertake actions accompanied by district and urban managers and moreover, to count on the support of actors that could add to their efforts and investments. This could be the case of gastronomic promoters. If the sum of these forces is effective, it could raise interests on this area for residents as well as for the municipal authority. However, for the current municipal administration it did not seem a clear possibility. In fact, the lack of visions over this space as providing services to residents limits the feasibility of these collaborations.

What has been observed for this market area, as well as for the surroundings of San Jose market, is that private forms of commerce, such as malls and supermarkets have gained considerable ground. These have introduced dynamics of enclosed public life, responding to the visions on modernity actually managed from municipalities (Municipalidad de Miraflores, 2007) and the aims of modern living from the local population. Then these appeared to set a context of unequal competitiveness against markets, which did not count on big companies’ facilities to own lands, the large economic capital or the regulations that could back the continuation of local spaces of commerce in this urban landscape. The protection of individual livelihoods in this context represented challenges for working under collective interests in these common spaces.

4.2.3 Challenges in the collective management of spaces of food commerce

Mercado N.1, still publicly owned, struggled with internal conflicts on the management of the market. Traders' perspectives and aspirations for their businesses, as well as the spending and managing capacities to undertake actions towards the former, have mainly explained improvements at this market. Individual perspectives and aspirations have also complicated reaching actual engagements with the market as a shared project. Nonetheless, the absence of the public administration urged traders to participate more actively at least in looking after the maintenance of the market building. The board of the traders' association took the role of the main administrator and has been in charge of looking mainly after cleanliness and security issues at the building, although facing difficulties in undertaking actions given the limited participation of the majority of associates, as Diego, the president, and other traders complained (Interview MN1-T4; See Figure 4.7).



Figure 4.7 View of ground floor stalls from top floor of Mercado N.1.
March, 2015

Some of the actions the board has been able to undertake are the change of gates, in order to enhance security and give a better look to the market, and a periodical fumigation, mostly for common areas such as the corridors. For both actions, the little collaboration of traders has been a key limitation to address. As some traders stated, there are many partners who do not contribute economically to these works, and for what I could observe, may not even be willing to learn about and facilitate the completion of tasks such as the occasional fumigations.

Fieldnote Mercado N.1 16/02/15

Gina told me that the fumigation was done every 4 or 5 months and that she thought it was a good practice. However, it was not the same understanding for all. I talked to Tania and to the trader selling next to her and they said they were little familiarised with how this was carried out, even if it wasn't the first time. They said they didn't know or were perhaps little interested in learning how it was this procedure. At that moment, they should have been closing their stalls, but they told me they didn't know if they should do it, at what time, and also said they didn't know how the fumigation was carried out – and it had already started in the upper floor. Tania and her friend didn't seem to recognise what were the benefits of the fumigation. I could notice that this unawareness or lack of understanding about this practice was something shared with other traders. The chemicals were supposed to be added all over the market and in all the surfaces. However, many traders left all their products, including the fresh ones such as fruits and vegetables, only covered by a piece of fabric or other material that they use every day to close their stalls (...)

There were not enough dialogues among traders in order to exchange views and communicate this sort of practices of shared benefit. The president of this trader association complained about their colleagues not becoming involved in decisions over the market, and I could confirm in my conversations with other traders that they did not participate in meetings where these decisions were going to be discussed. This limited involvement could lie on the continuous tensions they faced on their individual interests and levels of involvement in running the market. Some have enjoyed of better opportunities for making their businesses grow but their improved situation was not aligned with collective causes. Traders often focus on securing their achievements while disregarding the possibilities to cooperate among them and secure common achievements for the shared space.

The lack of commitment on running the market as a collective site added up to the feelings of unconformity about the place, which was reflected on the little changes achieved and on the discomfort of customers who could feel driven off because of the unpleasant maintenance conditions. As a regular customer, in my visits to the site I could identify these conditions and reflect on how the

qualities of the internal space contrasted among stalls even if being so closely situated:

Fieldnote Mercado N.1 31/01/2015

While walking around the market, I tried to recognise the smells I encountered on the way: I scented the smell of green leaves near the vegetable's stalls, the smell of blood around the meat, poultry and fish (and even beyond that section), and the smell of familiar spices when passing by grocery stalls offering spices and prepared sauces. When going to the less busy areas and to the upper floors, the smells changed and could feel the smell of urine, faeces and waste pipe invading the space instead.

As a frequent customer I became aware of these issues on market commerce and realised other customers were likewise aware and could take these issues for granted. When shopping, their discomfort on food quality and commerce standards was often raised during short chats among other customers and traders. Based on considerations on the modernity of the sites, customers set their preference or not to visit and shop at these places (Filgueiras, 2009).

In San Jose market, dissimilar views among traders and little participation in meetings and decisions over the market were also pointed out. However, there have been more issues on maintenance that traders have been able to overcome. Its privatisation marked a new period for the market in terms of the improvements they could undertake from that moment:

"Infrastructure has changed around 40% to how it was; there's also more control on hygiene, the municipality visits us for that. That's a lot about the work of the administration. (...) When it was from the municipality, their workers didn't pay attention to it [hygiene and cleanliness conditions], they didn't pick up the rubbish and so on."
(Enrique, trader, San Jose Market)

Enrique, as well as other colleagues, recognised in that sense that a private form of organisation implied more effectiveness in markets' maintenance (See Figure 4.8). A major improvement seems to be the type of floor, which was first of earth and could be changed to ceramic, giving a renewed aspect to the site.

Traders and customers that I had the chance to chat with often referred to this in their memories. In the same way, they referred to the fact that now there are security guards looking after the right course of commercial activities at the market, which includes keeping away undesirable subjects such as potential smugglers, drunk people, and street vendors, and supporting in keeping things in order according to municipal regulations (See Figure 4.5). Apart from these, works in the market building have been yet limited.



Figure 4.8 Traders undertaking cleaning interventions at San Jose Market.
“[Notice] To general public: San Jose Market will be closed on Wednesday 18th of March for maintenance.” March, 2015

Although well illuminated and in better cleaning conditions than Mercado N.1, the particular distribution of spaces at San Jose made it difficult to circulate around the market, and became even challenging during summer months, given the high temperatures and the lack of ventilation of the building. Even if clients’ attendance has considerably lowered since the appearance of supermarkets nearby, from the early 2000s, the limitations of reduced spaces

for circulation are still experienced, especially on Saturdays and Sundays, typical market days.

There are evolving plans for rebuilding the market following new and contemporary consumption demands, while at the same time improving their competition with businesses nearby. In the case of San Jose market, the board requested a marketing study to a consultancy company with the purpose of learning about commercial projections and evaluating the renewal of the market. This study identified trends and opportunities opened by the current context and provided information to associates that later selected a new building project. The proposal chosen by the participating majority consisted of a three-story mall-like building with a food court above stalls' level, and a gastronomic institute on the top floor. However, not all agreed on this project – or participated in the evaluations and decision-making process, nor agreed on the changes and conditions over which this project may be carried out. It could imply closing the market for at least a year and move to a temporary location agreed with the municipality, in addition to the investment each trader has to commit to for the completion of these works. Those were requirements that for many traders implied work instability and the use of resources they already felt scarce, therefore their reluctance on accepting the plan proposed. In relation to this, Carla pointed out:

"We [the board] bring the initiatives and they [associates] analyse them. All the times they [building consultants] have come to present [the initiatives - building projects], all the associates have been invited to see (...) as I told them in an assembly, 'if there are better proposals than the ones we're bringing, share them, because none of them have been accepted yet. If a better proposal can come from your side, it will be accepted.' " (Carla, trader, San Jose Market)

Carla raised these views, acknowledging a sense of distrust towards the market board. In both markets, it was frequently mentioned that members of market boards were mismanaging funds. They referred to a lack of transparency in the use of traders' payments and collective funds, and it was another central argument used by those refusing to contribute towards the

maintenance of the market or towards collective activities and projects. In the same way, the views traders shared about colleagues were often marked by direct or indirect experiences of disloyalty and disagreement along daily work and competence in sales – as it has occurred in other contexts of hard competence among small entrepreneurs in the local free market (Muñoz & Rodríguez, 1999). Julia, groceries trader at Mercado N.1, said in relation to this:

“Sadly, colleagues are not aware of the value of the market, of their stalls, they’re only concerned about their own [sales] (...) each one looks after their own work, and if they have to give something to improve something [at the market], you have to ask them once, twice. They’re so miserly.” (Julia, trader, Mercado N.1)

Likewise, Irma, trader of disposable items at Mercado N.1, further pointed out from her experience:

“There are people here... they’re very hard working but they lack a lot of education. Not about the customer, they’re very polite when they sell, but in relation to the norms and issues they have to comply with, they get a zero as grade.” (Irma, trader, Mercado N.1)

Few traders with whom I discussed these experiences, remarked there was also solidarity and mutual support when needed – mostly among those with long personal and family histories at markets. Nonetheless, in both markets distrust seemed to be a common characteristic in traders’ relationships and this also led to disagreements and little willingness to participate in shared activities. The running of markets largely relied on traders’ capacities, but also on individual interests ruling the making of the collective sites. Instead of contributing to the strengthening of markets as a whole, traders opted to focus in their own stall and sales, as if aiming to dissociate their efforts from the collective space. Hence, to articulate traders’ efforts and interests has represented major challenges for their administration, even more considering the negative values often defining traders’ weak relations and the lack of commitment to undertake actions in benefit of the shared workspace.

4.2.4 Individual operations and negotiated activities around food commerce

The individuality of interests in making independent business succeed was translated into actions independently taken under the purpose of growing and making more profit. Even if not the intention, it was in occasions in opposition to the progress or wellbeing of others. Reflecting only on traders' concerns on cleanliness, food handling, and the safety provided to customers in these terms, it should be acknowledged that these were not factors that would come to the fore of their daily work and efforts. On my regular visits, I could notice a general lack of awareness or even relevance assigned to good practices for food storage and handling. The lack of willingness to implement changes in these aspects could be identified in the majority of traders, as it was expressed during my conversations with a group of them at the markets. The limited efforts put on improvements on the quality of services they provided could be mostly linked to the little benefits traders identified from these, in comparison to what they could get by focusing their efforts on the mere increase of sales.

Hence, providing good and safe services to customers was not a priority. Luis, worker of an Asian produce stall at San Jose market for more than 30 years, acknowledged he proceeded differently in this sense, in spite of his boss' will:

“ She [stall's owner] comes and yells at me, so I tell her ‘what’s wrong, I have to wash my hands’. It’s because she doesn’t like to do it, even when they’re preparing [food for sale], it’s not for envy or for being bad, but even when she’s preparing wonton, with the same hands she’s receiving the money then she grabs the vegetables and everything. Without washing her hands, she prepares the wonton and everything. Sometimes I want to tell people, but I can’t, what you don’t know can’t hurt you, I just think.” (Luis, trader, San Jose Market)

This concern on cleanliness and particularly the practice of washing hands is not common among traders. For Luis, those who think about the customer, about their health, would do it, but he did not find it was commonly the case. He regarded traders as being more concerned about selling than about customers. Gina, owner of a smoothies and café stall at Mercado N.1, shared

similar views from her experience, and also noted the lack of interest on keeping good communal spaces:

“(...) what characterises me is cleanliness. I put a lot of effort, because I like to decorate, I like to put fruits... as a customer once told me ‘you flirt with fruits’, because it looks very attractive (...) [however, among] stall managers, there’s not (...) mutual agreement to work towards a positive goal, because I think that even if it’s true that I worry after my space being organised and clean, in other stalls it’s not like that. I know that because I’m here inside and I listen to the comments of other customers, ‘over there it’s all untidy, dirty’. (...) I think that if we all worked towards that same goal, ‘let’s contribute to do this’ and like that, we can give comfort to people who come here because they don’t have it. (...) Apart from cleanliness, stall managers don’t worry about giving customers comfort... they exhibit their merchandise invading the corridors, and that’s not comfortable for customers. We’ve talked about that, civil defence [officers from municipality] also came to make that observation but traders don’t understand. They put their products in front [of stall], as a little hill, and they don’t realise they’re affecting others, or maybe they know but they don’t care.” (Gina, trader, Mercado N.1)

Moreover, as Gina pointed out, the interest shown by some traders as Lorenzo and her on cleanliness and other good practices is also in response to what customers look for. The fact of addressing these concerns gave them certain competitive advantages as well. It was something noted by their new customers when they mentioned what had attracted them to her stall, as I could share with some of them in our casual chats at Gina’s market restaurant. Food handling was for instance Susana’s concerns. In spite of being a frequent diner at the most popular *cevichería* at San Jose market, she mentioned the inadequate practices and conditions in which she had seen ceviche being prepared:

“there was a lady who was preparing the fish [for ceviche], who cut the raw fish and pressed the limes. (...) of course, I saw that she did it with her hands directly. But then when you have the fish cut and you have to add lime, you do it with a spoon, and mix. I saw that she added the lime juice and mixed, and to try the salt and lime, it’s not that she tried it in another [plate] but she took the spoon, tried it and then put the spoon inside again. So, I was like ‘no, don’t do that!’ [laughs] ‘no, no, no, I’m going to eat that!’ (...) the conditions of hygiene and food handling should be improved because it’s something fundamental for our health, for everyone. I don’t like those things. Even when they handle food, sometimes they had the supplies not in deposits, but they put them directly in this ceramic that is there [material covering stall’s cooking table], so those things generate distrust. (...) they should improve cleanliness as well, because I saw that sometimes they had things that were kind of dirty (...)” (Susana, customer, San Jose Market)

This remark on the material in which food is placed connects to the fact that markets are already linked to failures in maintaining their material settings under adequate standards for their handling. In municipal supervisions to San Jose, authorities found stalls with cooking tables and utensils cracked or not well cleaned, as well as the dishes in which foodstuffs were served. Pointing at the risks of infections these aspects could raise, authorities fined or temporarily closed stalls.

Market businesses often failed to address these concerns on cleanliness, and this could not be explained as a general lack of knowledge on better practices. Traders in both markets acknowledged having had opportunities for participating in training activities on diverse fields linked to their work at the markets, ranging from food handling to business management. These opportunities were offered by various actors such as municipalities, temporary partners as it was the case of the Gastronomic Society, APEGA, and even traders’ boards, in response to identified needs or municipal requests. As Sandra remembered about these sessions:

“[trainers focused] on that we have to treat customers [well], that we have to be clean, we have to wear an apron, be very hygienic, that we must know how to convince customers and keep them; we have to sell in fair price – fair weight and fair price. (...) Each section had to attend. And for example, vegetables [traders] should have an adequate uniform for that group. Poultry [traders] should have its uniform. Each one can decide the colour, but it has to be uniform – a hat, an apron, and like that. (...) Some traders have applied this [knowledge] (...) from 100, there might be 20 who don’t pay attention but most of us do.” (Sandra, trader, Mercado N.1)

Sandra was more optimistic in giving this number than other colleagues regarding these occasional training sessions. From the comments I received, there were many traders who preferred not to attend and even if they did, they did not regard these sessions as relevant for their work or not contributing to their immediate needs of generating an income.

These attitudes were again demonstrations of traders’ priorities and the efforts they were able to make for providing better services to current and potential customers, and for creating better collective spaces. These were also responses to the context in which they had learned to operate and from which customers were also part of. In that sense, customers often showed low expectations in relation to marketplaces (See Figure 4.9). They expressed this along with arguing they also knew of better provisioning conditions at other sources (i.e. supermarkets, grocery stores, restaurants, etc.), where they could find an adequate ambiance for food shopping and consumption:

“being a market, it’s still difficult. We know that in supermarkets it’s different, different way of treating products. But it’s something that I’m always afraid of [cleanliness] in a market, also in San Jose.” (Susana, customer, San Jose Market)



Figure 4.9 Closing time for stalls at San Jose Market. February, 2015

Traders clean and close their own stall, but without necessarily taking care of common areas as corridors. Market cleaning staff mainly looked after these areas at the end of the day, when customers already left with an impression of failed maintenance conditions.

During the occasional municipal inspections at San Jose, attention towards cleanliness and maintenance could be momentarily recovered because of traders' fear of being sanctioned by municipal visitors. There could be fines applied to those not complying with the established municipal standards, or they could have their stalls temporarily closed, and even marketplaces in extreme cases of non-compliance. Thus, the days in which municipal visitors were expected to arrive were characterised by maximised efforts in cleaning and tidying up stalls and corridors, and although briefly, there seemed to be a recovered relevance on those issues missed on the everyday at these markets:

Fieldnote San Jose Market 17/03/2015

It was the day prior to a municipal inspection, traders were preparing their stalls - basically cleaning and removing all things they had inside (...) most of the stalls were cleaned by the owners, and by the number of things they were taking out, the amount of dirt that was being removed, one could tell this type of 'in depth' cleaning was not frequent at all. There were people painting their stalls, cleaning the upper part of their stalls as well. There was then a mix of dust and strong smells in the air. There were also people removing rubbish, food products that looked as being accumulated inside stalls for some time (...)

Traders acknowledged the possible severity of municipal measures, but they likewise complained on public authorities not treating them all equally. They were aware some colleagues did not receive the same attention and severity applied to the noticeable failures they had on running their food businesses. In San Jose, inspections were supposed to take place unexpectedly, but news were always filtered among traders because of the relationships some have developed with workers at municipal offices. Leo, worker at Jesus Maria municipality participating in these inspections, did not deny this fact and was aware that some may avoid the visit. As he stated prior to a market inspection: *"those who have more stalls are those who are the dirtiest"*. This statement is in accordance to Ines' views on a differentiated treatment:

Fieldnote San Jose Market 17/03/2015

I went to visit Ines and we talked about how the market was run (...) She gave me her opinions on the way inspections were carried out. For her, not everyone was being controlled, not everyone was visited by municipal agents. She said that for instance, the president's stall is the dirtiest one (implying that she was not being inspected). She felt unhappy for the unequal treatment and was distrustful on the current administration.

Traders were aware they were not in a favourable situation facing private and modern alternatives to food supply, and these experiences made them also aware that within the markets, there were unequal relations that allowed only few to access favours and better conditions to make their businesses grow. There were assumptions on certain traders holding illegal arrangements with municipal officers in order to secure their livelihoods and possibly increase

their benefits. These statements reinforced traders' distrust towards municipal authorities. Their awareness on these matters raised their discomfort and little willingness to participate in the collective. It was the discomfort of regarding those making more profit receiving more benefits, as in the case of not being fairly monitored by authorities in complying with cleanliness regulations, or in having an adequate use of their allocated spaces, not being responsible for what is common property.

In this respect, the trading space that could be secured was an important factor for improving traders' working conditions. It was evident that stall's size was generally smaller than needed for the display of products, for customers to wait or for being served. There was a restricted availability or affordability of spaces to grow in order to gain comfort in these terms thus traders were always trying to make the most of their stalls. Nonetheless, they found it a limitation affecting the quality of service they could provide under better labour conditions.

At Mercado N.1, traders remembered colleagues receiving favours or enjoying of good connections that opened their ways for their business' growth, as well as colleagues illegally or informally acquiring stalls to expand their selling area or to use these as deposits. Reduced regulations and controls encouraged the establishment or in some cases, the consolidation of illegal practices for instance, in managing and appropriating stalls. For a public market as Mercado N.1, the appropriation of stalls was carried out without previous notice to the corresponding municipality. Furthermore, the 'sale' of stalls among traders became a sort of regular operation, in spite of these not actually being their property but only allocations that had to be approved first by the public institution (Interview MN1-C6; MN1-T6).

In San Jose, taking the case of *cevicherías*, the stalls these covered were regarded as possibly being secured also through illegal or informal arrangements. This could be done, for instance, through internal associations - as in the case of family businesses - that were not actually regarded as transparent. The capacities of some traders to achieve differentiated levels of improvements, for instance in terms of space and commercial progress, raised

suspensions among traders. They were regarded as receiving benefits from the traders' board or from public authorities supporting their ventures. In San Jose, however, stalls are property of traders and this allowed them to develop associations among them, with partners such as family members also working at markets, contributing with workspace or workforce to expand or generate new market businesses. These independent actions gave traders possibilities to raise their resources and capacities to consolidate their businesses, in contrast to other individual entrepreneurs. Nonetheless, it was usual that traders referred to corrupt practices from colleagues making their businesses grow and their lack of commitment with the collective workspace.

For Diego, president of Mercado N.1 traders' association, his colleagues replicated what they had learned from municipal authorities in managing their stalls and in their involvement with the market. The appropriation of stalls and use of common spaces would raise claims in terms of those unequal benefits and relations at Mercado N.1. In these cases, it became visible how the non or unequal enforcement of regulations by authorities translated into a continuous non-compliance of such regulations in the shared use of the market. Roever (2005) referred to this cycle of "non-enforcement and non-compliance" when describing practices on street commerce in Lima, selectively regulated depending on the local commercial setting, but also selectively applied according to the advantages that wanted to be kept for the authorities' convenience.

Hence, arrangements among traders, and between them and municipal inspectors could make them secure a better treatment and better work conditions to the expense of others with less resources to achieve benefited positions. This went hand in hand with the 'soft' procedures on food commerce surveillance that municipalities implemented – and the absent monitoring procedures that traders' associations could undertake on their own. By conducting their ventures out of formal arrangements – in a sort of "forced entrepreneurialism", as defined by Roberts and Portes (2006) - traders achieved ways of surviving at markets, under the absent or inefficient roles of public agents that may regulate their practices or represent their interests. In

this way, the management framework in which traders operate is not supportive of including the varied needs and claims of these equally diverse actors. The particular barriers or special possibilities traders faced in their practice were dealt with in the autonomous space of each entrepreneur, leaving behind the claim over the use and profitability of the common space (See Figure 4.10).



Figure 4.10 Improved stalls near the front gate but not complete scenario for Mercado N.1. February, 2015

In the quest for reaching agreements among traders and market administrators, customers' voices were rarely included into the plans or heard in discussions for enhancing market services, although there was an implicit awareness of their discomfort. Customers have generally shown very little involvement with these sites, not actually questioning their need for survival and taking for granted these could be readily exchangeable with options such as supermarkets in time. Old customers, however, had a stronger affiliation with traders, although not with the sites as a whole. Customers as Erick, from Mercado N.1, and others I could briefly meet at the stalls, mentioned they

found moments of agreeable conversation and sociality (Interview MN1-C3). But these were not highlighted in the majority of experiences and were not raised as the most relevant factors or reasons for engaging with the defence of market spaces.

For instance, there were no accounts of customers engaging in defending these spaces as it has occurred for cases in cities under different paths on urbanisation, but likewise facing demands for political and economic justice. The centrality of customers engagement in markets recovery has been illustrated in academic explorations in cases where residents, identified with these local representations, have defended markets from their sale and possible demolition. It was the case of advocacy projects for Essex Street market, New York, and its historic representation for the neighbourhood. Also, for Moore Street market and its Latino representation in commercial and social activities (Low, 2014). Those missing actions along traders' efforts reflected the absence of collective projects that address and advocate for city residents' needs and desires for common spaces.

On top of these complications, the local landscape on food consumption presented new economic opportunities for markets. The popularity gained by private discourses on consumption, the changing preferences of *Limeños* towards traditional resources and spaces, and the appeal for diversity in the options to satisfy their demands, were some of the aspects that presented risks and opportunities to markets today. These require from shared endeavours to overcome the risks, as those from management, and make the most of the commercial opportunities presented. An integrated sense over the functioning of markets becomes central for markets' continuing operations.

4.2.5 Collaborating in private and shared operations for markets' management

In a context of direct competition with supermarkets and individualism in the running of market businesses, many traders have focused on adjusting to the new trends and business opportunities opened in the last decades. They were generally flexible in adopting new offers, even by changing partially or totally from business field. Awareness on their possibilities for making their ventures grow, as well as their fast adaptation to the context, allowed some traders to address new and varied consumer demands. New consumption preferences came along the strengthened economy of the country in the 2000s, and the increased spending capacity of residents, mainly in Peru's biggest cities and most importantly in the capital (Protzel de Amat, 2011). In terms of food consumption this was translated in an increased demand of prepared food and the rising practice of 'eating out', impacting on the evolution of certain market businesses, as seen today in the spread of *cevicherías* and other related culinary ventures (APEGA, 2013; See Figure 4.11).



Figure 4.11 Gastronomic boulevard next to Mercado N.1.

Inscription in plaque (left): “Touristic Route of Surquillo: Gastronomic Boulevard of Surquillo” February, 2015

This boulevard is one of the few aspects that could be implemented from gastronomic promotion plans at this market.

In the case of San Jose, the autonomy achieved with privatisation gave traders room to develop their own strategies for their business progress, making the most of their independence in undertaking changes in the stalls they own. The overall organisation of the market (i.e. the distribution of stalls according to commercial activities and types of commerce) was then shaped by the commercial turns that traders decided to take. Some old traders decided to take advantage of a favouring context in food consumption by selling or renting their stalls to relatives, friends or new entrepreneurs who wanted to start or expand their own businesses on food. No longer could the area of vegetables and fruits be distinguished from the area of home items and services, these have become mixed under no restrictions. *Menus* (market restaurants with set menus) could be found all over the market – next to sellers of plastic items and even cobblers.

In relation to *cevicherías* at San Jose market, these were mostly centred in one particular section, where these started in many cases from fishmongers who decided to turn their businesses into more profitable options. In some cases, fishmongers turned into ceviche and seafood cooks, while in others, as mentioned above, owners of stalls at the fish section rented or sold their spaces to growing or new entrepreneurs. This is the case of Jorge, a *ceviche* cook at San Jose who shared his memories in one of our casual conversation. He started working at his family fishery in this market when he was very young. Apart from his mother, a number of family members – including his sister, aunts, uncles and cousins – got involved in the fish business and joined the market several decades ago, since its opening as a public market. Jorge's relatives, including her mother, were allocated various neighbouring stalls by the municipality and with the raised demand of prepared food, and in particular, of ceviche at the market, his family and him decide to change their stalls to *cevicherías*. Other traders with stories like Jorge contributed in shaping the size and dynamism of the ceviche section at San Jose market (Interview SJM-T2).

Cevicherías counted with a higher flux of diners than *menus*, mainly on weekends. *Menus* usually had a fixed clientele of neighbours or workers coming from nearby. Other stalls of food produce had frequent customers that secured some sort of income every day, but have been losing customers against supermarkets, as remembered before by Jose and Sandra for both markets. Looking at this situation, successful ceviche cooks as Alicia, in San Jose, affirmed that in bringing a higher flux of customers, they also raised the visibility of other food stalls and their chances to secure more sales (Interview SJM-T3). This was not of general acknowledgement. For other traders, as Irma, running a poultry stall few meters apart from Alicia's, the success of *cevicherías* did not reach other stalls and Irma did not regard her as a close or supporting colleague. Both in their commercial practice and in the management of the market, traders' weak relations also prevented them from exchanging views over their concerns and opportunities, and how they saw each other's work as well as their contributions to the communal workspace.

For the successful ceviche cooks, even if undertaking aligned food ventures and working next to each other, traders operated independently and defending their ventures from the close competence. In San Jose market, *cevicherías* defended the uniqueness of their flavour and offer. In that sense, there were some traders who complained that others claimed recognitions they did not have (for instance, stalls portraying banners with gastronomic recognitions to raise their appeal). They also complained on colleagues 'stealing' their ideas on cuisine without success, using wrong information about their offer to persuade customers (Interview SJM-T2; SJM-T3). Experiencing this context, some traders regarded their colleagues being able to make more profit but nonetheless, becoming more selfish and less supportive among them, less identified with the market, and even providing deficient services that could drive customers away, thus affecting sales for others.

This way, those commercial opportunities taken by traders appeared as influencing the use of the market and also their appeal for wider publics in Lima. However, it occurred without concerted efforts in creating a more convivial workspace, and without negotiating ways of mutually enhancing their ventures. As Lorenzo, *ceviche* cook at Mercado N.1, raised, at the beginning of this chapter, markets were evaluated as a whole, building such knowledge on places and collective organisations from the distinctive qualities of their operations and services to Lima's publics (Interview MN1-T2). Despite the regularity of negative evaluations, the particular context on food awareness could be found as providing starting points for addressing weak collective efforts and challenge conflictive relations, as those based on distrust among colleagues. Thus, there might be possibilities for reworking individualistic forms of operating markets, towards negotiated interests making these work under agreed and concerted purposes – such as interests on culinary practices and the projection of traditional sites towards new publics, as tourists.

Thus, there may be common aspects through which market users' operations could be regarded as converging, and from where new notions and values on markets could be developed. Among the many customers I met along this work, there were already shared understandings on the impacts from these

times on traders' work and on envisioning markets' potentialities. Customers developed their own views in relation to this renewed food interest and the popularity gained by local chefs, markets and market entrepreneurs. These views were mainly in reference to the opportunities for introducing better practices and the professionalisation of traders according to what gastronomic trends have encouraged. Mr Jorge, a congressman who regularly shops at Mercado N.1, shared his thoughts on the so-called 'gastronomic boom':

"I have observed that the gastronomic boom has revalued how the whole gastronomic production chain is regarded. (...) We observe that in markets, there are more efforts on presenting things in a better way; I see people wearing uniforms. People selling ceviche, selling food, they understand that clothing is a competitive factor. Behaviours of those involved in this value chain are changing." (Jorge, customer, Mercado N.1)

In spite of tensions in running businesses and the unequal progress among *cevicherías* and other sections, the popularity already gained by some businesses may encourage the development of renewed and positive images on this and other marketplaces and their environments. This way of thinking, found in customers at both markets, implied potential aspects of change in the not so favourable images on cleanliness and maintenance. Nonetheless it also raises questions on how these potentialities can be addressed. It emerges the centrality of collaborations among traders as well as from those who participate in the making of the new concepts managed at markets. This is the case of gastronomic actors but also customers, as agents shaping the offer and demand on the services provided at these spaces (See Figure 4.12). Thus, changing views on markets from current activities may bring about new views on market's recovery as collaborative interventions, based on these and further gains that can be explored for city residents.



Figure 4.12 Big market restaurant with renovated front attracting new customers at San Jose Market. February, 2015

Nidia, customer at San Jose market, recognised the relevance of addressing markets from what they offer to neighbours and city residents. She raised aspects that could be enhanced in the material exchange that could also be translated into satisfactory experiences of collective use of the space among those commingling:

“I think my basic reflection is the opportunity to improve [for traders at work] (...) also as a contribution to the market, to the neighbours. I think it all starts there, it’s something that will impact positively in the context. Developing their competences, their businesses will surely improve, the market will improve, will have more clients, people who go will be happier.” (Nidia, customer, San Jose Market)

Andrés, also customer at this market, expressed the centrality of addressing residents’ services when evaluating markets’ management. For him, enhancing their experiences at markets could lead to increased customer affiliation and in turn, to the achievement of commercial goals:

“I think in the short and medium terms, improvements carried out should be thought in relation to the citizen. I haven’t seen many tourists there, but once the improvements are done, I know there will be gastronomic tourism and that could help markets to be better places, as well as make more tourists to come. But I don’t think improvements should be done thinking about tourism. (...) I think these should be improvements linked to the citizens, and citizens themselves will help gastronomic tourism to grow.” (Andrés, customer, San Jose Market)

These reflections, built from individual experiences of encountering around food and market operations, raised possibilities for recovering markets’ roles as spaces of encounter, of reconnection among residents under economic purposes that are not only for individual profit but that could bring about shared interests and gains. Nonetheless, there is a need of mechanisms that could open discussions and plans among different actors already impacting, directly or indirectly, on market operations. Without these, actions together have difficulties to progress.

In these Lima markets, interventions that encourage residents’ participation in the course of marketplaces are still missing. In certain cities undertaking urban projects around food, governance initiatives have also brought about the voice of customers in the making of renewal plans, not only of markets but of broader urban areas for which markets are central (Ginocchi and Tartari, 2007 on participatory regeneration projects in Bologna markets). Increasing dialogues among actors impacting on the management, maintenance and continuation of marketplaces – such as direct market users but also public and private agents influencing in commerce operations and conditions - could lead to a more engaged clientele, raise markets’ visibility and contribute to better focus traders and municipalities’ efforts over the vibrancy of these spaces. In the absence of these perspectives, there are more barriers to include collaborations in the management of these open spaces in Lima and in reaching improvements that could signify benefits for the collective of users.

4.3 Conclusions: markets' management and collaborations operating the common space

In this chapter, I addressed encounters around markets' management questioning what these could inform about collective economic operations that, despite varied and conflictive arrangements, maintained these local spaces. The urban context of private and profit-led interventions in urban governance was identified as impacting on markets' functioning as well as on shared endeavours over urban resources. In both cases, markets were observed operating under contrasting purposes and non-negotiated interventions of actors implied in their management, originating the situation in which these are found today, of deficient infrastructural maintenance and reduced attendance. Traders and customers encountering at marketplaces described their functioning conditions as not adequate to the services, mainly around food, that these spaces provided. There were conflicts specific to each location but in both, the limitations of public interventions have been identified in terms of securing healthy and safe conditions for city residents. Moreover, the political economy defined their forms of management, as well as the commercial context in which these operate, competing among traders as private, individual entrepreneurs, and against larger businesses, mainly supermarkets.

Even if consensus among traders was achieved for market's management – and appropriation, as in the case of market's privatisation for San Jose Market – traders' associations permanently faced challenges to undertake major improvements because of the lack of funding sources, as well as missing joint actions in those recovery tasks. The low profitability of markets – because of the low taxes that traders pay, as raised by municipal authorities - determined the little efforts authorities put into these places. Plans for the recovery of marketplaces appeared basically ignored by public authorities, which mostly regarded these as centres of political and economic influence but not as suitable investments for municipalities. Immediate gains instead of long-term

plans guided their interventions. This appeared to be the rule for every governance period at municipalities. Private ownership and for-profit logics on traders and municipalities' operations at markets have been at the core of the scarce interventions for the maintenance of these centres. This way, in a context of reduced public functions over shared resources, private forms of organisation have represented more effectiveness in markets' maintenance – in agreement to cases where residents have found solutions in private arrangements for the management of dwelling and working spaces (Janoschka, 2002).

In spite of the shared ownership and use, it was conflictive to accommodate individual and competitive aims in the everyday and this was observed in the expressions of distrust underlying their operations and relations. Missing collaborations and collective visions on these shared spaces were reflected in traders' individualistic activities, as well as in conflicts within the collective about the management and use of marketplaces. For traders, private profitability appeared to be the main purpose from market operations, replicating the responses found from municipal administrations. This was as a logic adapted or 'learned' from the political environment, as stated by Diego, president of Mercado N.1 traders' association. This way of leading market labours as individual projects has weakened traders' relations, which are characterised by distrust and reduced responsibilities towards the collective space.

Markets have been largely left under traders' capacities to secure their survival, summing up their individual interests and efforts to make these spaces work. There have been absent engagements from residents with the course of these traditional public sites. They have not raised collective claims on these spaces, as observed in other contexts where governance systems or organised collectives have reached to include these claims in the public agenda (Low, 2014). In relation to partnerships with private actors, for instance in food and real state sectors, these markets have not been included into this sort of collaborative plans. For instance, their recovery has not reached to be included in projects of gastronomic promotion, even if recognised as

emblematic and attractive spots for gastronomic activities now in vogue. Private actors have continued investing in areas and activities of already marked economic performance, for instance establishing stores and supermarkets in market surroundings and developing touristic routes around these sites. They have mainly profited from markets' commercial dynamism but have not reached to displace market businesses or invested in their conversion - situations reported in other cities where these places have been increasingly lost (Leung, 2016). Thus, emblematic markets in Lima contrast to cases reported in cities where these have been immersed in processes of gentrification, cultural commodification and city branding (Medina & Alvarez, 2009).

Nonetheless, from encounters around the operation of market spaces, it was possible to identify avenues for the revitalization of these spaces, as well as management arrangements that could broaden residents' involvement in the common making of these sites (Morales, 2011). Although under different visibility and level of participation, markets' management involve various actors in the food chain – gastronomic promoters, providers, public authorities responsible for food distribution, academic centres offering training, among the many who are adding to consumption practices and trends. Their interventions contribute as well to broaden opportunities for market improvements, including the provisioning of services at these sites. Looking at these actors as connected through market operations reveals aspects beyond the management undertaken by traders. For instance, there are actors beyond those with direct responsibilities (i.e. traders and municipalities) that may expand their perspectives and actions over these spaces. These could be municipalities willing to support markets' recovery out of their immediate jurisdiction, as it was mentioned by Miraflores municipality, and independent or private agents moved by the same intentions, as it was the case of the Peruvian Gastronomic Association for Mercado N.1.

Through their yet limited interventions, they contribute to establish a new agenda for marketplaces at district and city level (Watson & Studdert, 2006). This agenda may be driven by private priorities, missing the civic roles of these

spaces for livelihoods and daily provisioning, but there may be negotiations also setting a different scenario. There are commonalities underlying users' actions and collaboratively, can make management interventions more effective. In this sense, customers' engagement is crucial to envision shared purposes and engagements in making markets welcoming and vibrant urban centres. They participate in markets' commercial activities through their food consumption operations, but also participate in regulating their operations through their preferences and demands. Context opportunities, such as the renewed interest in food consumption at open spaces, may bring alternative synergies for the recovery and revitalisation of these local economic centres.

Challenges in governance and commercial operations from these markets led me to reflect on the governance framework of these spaces, and moreover, how this framework could be set in favour of market agents' participation in the making of the material, economic and social settings under which city residents encounter. Rethinking this framework invites to oversee markets' management as bringing these various urban agents together in envisioning and developing common projects (Foster & Iaione, 2016). Each location presents particular arrangements for their operations and for their infrastructural recovery, thus it is central to recognise the collective of actors and purposes underlying their everyday management and use. These accounts allow to oversee conditions for residents' participation in urban governance and collective economic opportunities, in these cases working to negotiate relations of trust that ensure the continuation of these spaces as common urban resources.

5. Co creation of expressions of diversity in market imaginaries

“Those innovations [in service and offer] that you find when you go to a stall are what attract more people, people tell each other. Sometimes I don’t understand how come people in suits sit there, also tourists. That’s because we know how to serve them, treat them (...) we give them all the best.”

(Lorenzo, trader, Mercado N.1)

This chapter focuses on encounters around market imaginaries, questioning what these suggest about collective re-creations over social differences experienced at markets. For that purpose, I identified expressions of the diversity of residents inhabiting Lima (Günther, 1992 in Rivera Martínez, 2002), particularly from meanings and material representations of sociocultural traits taking part in these moments of daily commingling. These expressions of diversity were enmeshed in food products and related practices and settings. These influenced on the visibility of social traits encountered at markets, determining the recognition of residents carrying them, while leaving other traits and residents less visible (Fincher, 2017). For instance, expressions of social diversity were identified from cultural connotations applied to the selection, preparation and consumption of well-known dishes and gourmet products. These were also identified in the aesthetics and qualities that market users applied to food services, showing associations with modern practices, social status and the recognition of certain trajectories of social and economic improvement in the city. These expressions also worked for keeping other market features less visible, observed for instance in contrasts on customers’ preference and attendance to different market areas. This was the case between highly visited stalls offering popular dishes, using gastronomic themes in their decoration, and the rest of stalls not aligning to these

contemporary preferences and with market sections falling into maintenance failures. These sorts of contrasts on visibility and interest for participating in the market space pointed at the absence of common visions over an inviting space for diverse users.

These observations and experiences of encounter point at forms of urban fragmentation emerging from the coexistence of individuals with a plurality of sociocultural backgrounds and affiliations converging at marketplaces. These define forms of differentiation among residents (Joseph et al., 2008) but also bring about social negotiations along markets' economic activities. Innovations in the space of commerce and consumption, to which Lorenzo referred in the quote above, were associated to traders' capacities to respond to their demands for recognition while building their trajectories of economic and social improvement. In turn, residents found accessible and appealing offers at markets, and maintained their visits by assimilating, to a certain extent, their affiliation to residents and resources they encountered. Traders and customers approached the shared space under different positionalities, different urban demands and forms of engagement. This way, they encountered around diverse stories of social fragmentation, arising from social trajectories of settling in the city, but also around possible renegotiations on tensions among the plurality of residents sharing the market space.

Unequal visibility (and popularity) of expressions of diversity

The first section of this chapter situates encounters around market imaginaries (See Section 2.2.2). I described the unequal visibility of diverse stalls and traders at markets as representing the unequal popularity of their offer but also the unequal recognition of their diverse knowledge and labours. Thus, I argued this unequal visibility was a demonstration of the unequal assimilation of the diversity of residents in Lima, represented among the actors involved in everyday practices of commerce and consumption at these sites. From these differences on visibility, I moved on to look at general qualities attached to these shared spaces. Markets were generally regarded as not moving ahead in time and not responding to current demands on urban living. These views

were also applied to traders, as if intrinsically connected to notions of poverty and backwardness explained from everlasting tensions deriving from histories of migration and cultural mix in the city (Protzel de Amat, 2011), likewise reflected in the use and access to urban spaces.

These notions contrasted to those raised by the Gastronomic Boom campaign, which has built a discourse on social inclusion through culinary practices, sustaining its arguments on sociocultural values applied to these, such as tradition and diversity. This discourse has been applied to market and street food offers, and market users have also assimilated it, as emerged from their views on these sites and dishes on offer. Visually, gastronomic values were connected to aestheticized representations of food and culinary practices, and to names and brands that worked well in positioning this campaign among Lima residents (Matta, 2013). Meanings and images introduced throughout this period have been proposed by actors in privileged social standings, but the same arguments and visible symbols are then appropriated by urban residents, who use and engage with these through everyday actions and spaces. In this sense, the gastronomic context was useful to explore the differentiated dynamism of market areas and the commercial success of certain market businesses, which had acquired an increased visibility and recognition under these culinary associations.

Visible expressions of diversity

The second section of this chapter explores negotiations over tensions from this context, observed from encounters around market imaginaries (See Section 2.3.2). I analysed these negotiations from expressions of diversity implying forms of social recognition over segregation. Moreover, I identified these as leading to collective recreations on imaginaries of urban living, that allowed for more equal recognition and participation of market agents in the shared space. I started by approaching materialised representations of social differences among traders and customers. Thus, I observed stalls, in their decoration and elements used in food service, and the food offer in each market in order to explore how these portrayed the appropriation of

gastronomic messages – for instance, in aesthetic tones added to these physical settings (Zukin, 2011). These representations could be associated with the intervention of market actors in defining what became most appealing and visible for consumption. Likewise, these defined the visibility and invisibility of agents during the commingling and relating at these sites. In particular, I found this was the case for traders and led me to reflections on the recognition of their social trajectories and specialisation in their everyday labours.

Offer variations at both sites were useful approximations to customers attending each market. For instance, the notion of selectivity, applied to the food offer, worked in reflecting the preferred characteristics of products in each site and who would look for these - and take part in these exchanges (De La Pradelle, 2006). Thus, from visible elements in the settings – such as gastronomic images, food offers and representations of tradition and diversity – I could identify expressions of segregation towards certain social groups. These were mostly linked to the sociocultural and economic differences raised by traders and customers when describing their experiences of commingling. Nonetheless, I could also explore expressions of recognition towards diversity from these visible elements, which contributed to renegotiations on social differences and to challenge views on markets and their users.

Market stories

I start by describing popular ceviche stalls at both markets, and the actors and significances associated with their popularity. From this, I moved on to describe the unequal progress observed for market businesses. In this regard, messages and influences on food commerce introduced after the Gastronomic Boom could be observed at marketplaces in the material representation of stalls and foodstuffs. Situating encounters in this context, I addressed how traders and customers participated and engaged with markets, in the midst of food trends. There was a contrasting visibility among stalls which was linked to the commercial success of traders, and linked to gastronomic notions applied to the set up and to traders' performance. Assimilating these trends, traders negotiated the recognition of their improved economic and social

situation in the market and urban context. Likewise, there were contrasts in the food offer among visible stalls and between both markets. By addressing food specialties at each, I derived into meanings managed by market users, associated with those who are expected to be encountered. In that way, from preferred offers and demands, I analysed how market imaginaries were constructed for the inclusion or segregation of urban agents. On top of this, the commingling around shared tastes, as in the case of ceviche but also other revalued foodstuffs, invited me to think of commonalities bringing residents together, re-creating differences among those sharing market activities.

In that intention, market imaginaries were addressed through expressions of diversity encountered in meanings and representations assimilated from the context and collectively re-created along urban living. These were expressed and materialised in the shared space, indicating the presence and activity of traders and customers as well as forms of recognition or segregation shaping experiences at markets. On the whole, these explorations allowed me to envision these spaces as open and equally accessible for the diversity of agents converging in the city (Hiebert et al., 2015; Watson, 2009).

5.1 Unequal visibility of expressions of diversity in market imaginaries

“Sometimes I feel that in our country there is the wish of being different to others [and this emerges] through issues as simple as being able to choose and go to a supermarket, and not go to a market. (...) people don’t do it [mention going to markets], I don’t know if they’re ashamed or why they don’t, but it’s not something you will listen, even if they go, it’s invisible.”

(Nora, customer, Mercado N.1)

Gastronomic trends and messages have invited to look back at traditional and diverse offers in food consumption, and to look at sites for these sorts of supply as cultural assets that could be equally appealing and accessible for diverse residents. Gastronomic promoters, such as chefs and public figures, have been key actors in disseminating and positioning this discourse on the revaluation of national foodstuffs and associated assets among *Limeños* (APEGA, 2013). It has been translated in the intensification of activities in certain sectors of food commerce, mainly related to private establishments – as in the case of increasing numbers of restaurants opening. Likewise, the influence of this context has been observed at marketplaces, for instance in the rising number of traders offering foodstuffs recognised by gastronomic tendencies and customers looking for these popular offers. Nonetheless, these changes have not been observed as occurring under the same intensity at all markets, nor within a same shared space.

Only certain markets, such as those emblematic, have assimilated these trends in their activities, and even within these sites, material representations of such renewed culinary meanings vary among stalls, bringing about contrasting responses from customers. As Nora expressed, there are divisive notions on diversity that become translated in activities at urban markets as spaces of collective use. These spaces remain less visible or appealing for

residents, facing private and modern alternatives. In this regard, it is interesting to identify and analyse the meanings and representations of social difference that shape market imaginaries, and which influence the visibility and recognition of market users in the contemporary city.

5.1.1 *Cevicherías* and expressions of diversity at marketplaces

Marketplaces have been recognised by food connoisseurs as rooted in national culture, carrying traditions and cultural expressions that become materialised in these everyday spaces. In that sense, gastronomic messages have invited to look at marketplaces as “crucibles of Peruvianness and foundation of the gastronomic culture” (Valderrama, 2016, p. 40). Ceviche is an important culinary expression found at markets. In some of these sites, commercial and consumption activities around ceviche set the pace of important market areas and in a way become what features first for any first time or even regular visitor. It was the case for both markets in this study, where it became evident it was the dish that raised more interest among diners (See Figure 5.1).



Photo taken by Kattya Marquez.

Figure 5.1 “El Cevichano”, ceviche market restaurant at Mercado N.1.
The chef and the main dish. April, 2016

Marketplaces are identified as public spaces given their openness of participation, in physical and economic terms, and the involvement of diverse strangers on commercial and social exchanges (Spitzer & Baum, 1995). Nonetheless, these also fall under negative notions linked with being public. As Vega Centeno (2013) raised from observations on public spaces in Lima, these notions are based on the conditions of mismanagement and poverty found for spaces publicly and openly used and managed. Moreover, in this non-supportive context for the maintenance and protection of shared use

resources, markets are regarded as backward and popular, that is, only for a sector of the population – associated with low income and status - still interested in their offer in spite of their operating conditions (Vidaurre, 2016).

In that shared physical and social ground, market users participate in the everyday making of imaginaries on markets, attaching sociocultural constructions or meanings on diversity and social status as qualities of shared resources – such as the market building and items on exchange (Duruz et al., 2011). Likewise, images around material conditions associated with these resources become visible representations of those constructions on social difference. This way, the collective making of expressions of social difference point at the struggles for assimilating the diversity of strangers coexisting in Lima. Emerging tensions are ever present in the city, as occurs as well in other Latin American capital cities, representing unresolved challenges for the consolidation of the urban as a common ground (Scorer, 2016). To understand this context of social differences unequally recognised within the *Limeño* collective, it is important to look at historical processes of population and urban growth.

Lima was established as the centre of the Spanish occupation since their arrival in 1545. From the capital city, Spanish conquerors started the Western cultural colonisation of the country. The city was later reaffirmed as the capital of the Peruvian Republic. In terms of international migration, Peru continued to receive an important number of migrants from European countries during the Spanish occupation, as well as in following periods of regional economic booms and global upheaval, for instance during the First and Second World Wars. With the conquest, it also started the arrival of workers from Africa and Asia who got to the country to carry out forced labours in extractive sectors (Ali, 2014; Protzel de Amat, 2011). These new groups were included under the governance and social structures introduced – colonisers over colonised, European and Western over native and migrant people – and defined long lasting inequalities in the country (Degregori, 2009).

In the 20th century, along with histories of colonialism and postcolonialism, processes of internal migration and the formation of new settlements reshaped the spatial and socioeconomic distribution of the city. In particular, a migratory 'boom' took place between the 1960s and 1980s. This migratory period and its consequences in the urban configuration are aligned to parallel processes in the continent (Janoschka, 2002). In Peru, these were also years of intense terrorist attacks and internal war against military forces, which started in Andean regions but later expanded all over the country, with a particular focus in Lima. These episodes forced a great number of people from all over the country to look for livelihoods and possibilities for survival in the capital. The large population of contemporary Lima is mainly a product of this period of 'overflow' (Matos Mar, 2004). Passing this period and entering the new century, the city's growth kept at a considerably lower and more sustained rate. Nonetheless, these years marked a breaking point for Lima.

The migratory boom implied a reconfiguration of political institutions and their roles for the multiple publics, as well as a reconfiguration of economic systems - as those regulating production and consumption services - that had to adapt to the growing urban population and their differentiated spending capacities and demands. These aspects redefined social and economic hierarchies and residents' freedoms. Newly settled groups found their ways for establishing in Lima, generating sources of income through formal and informal schemes. For instance, many found a feasible solution for their livelihood demands in commerce and public areas (Roever, 2005). In that way, migrants became associated with market and street vendors all over the city.

In terms of housing, the growing population occupied 'emerging' urban areas in and around Lima, shaping Lima's distribution of the built environment. This is observed in the city's growth towards its peripheries but maintaining a high concentration of political and economic activities as well as an enhanced provisioning of basic services in central districts. Nonetheless, pockets of poverty and unequal access to services have been assimilated into this central area, reflecting its fragmentation (Portes & Roberts, 2005). Moreover, the levels of municipal budgets and public investment go hand in hand with the

economic values assigned to these fragmented areas, showing an unequal progress among areas inhabited by groups of diverse socioeconomic status (Protzel de Amat, 2011).

These social and economic divisions add to the ethnic and racial differentiations that become expressed in residents' encounters. At markets, these also become expressed along exchanges. Seligmann (2015) sets the particular example of a Peruvian emblematic market, the Central Market of the city of Cusco:

"In its most moderate form but not less harmful, racial and gender ideologies underlie quotidian conflicts occurring along simple buying and selling encounters taking place in the market." (p.177 – own translation)

In her observations, Seligmann finds that differentiations from indigenous and mixed cultural backgrounds – from indicators such as place of birth, language and physical traits - are strong among Peruvians. Among market users, she identifies these differentiations become translated into notions of status superiority and inferiority that persist in the sociocultural systems in which people operate. Nonetheless, the author also recognises that open manifestations of difference are increasingly punished in the public sphere because of raising voices of contestation. Therefore, these are indirectly expressed and may be contained in social relations and the material environment bringing together or segregating individuals at markets.

In spite of the collective making of the intercultural city, not all social and cultural backgrounds are recognised as part of the *Limeño* identity and this frequently leads to discriminatory expressions from those who reaffirm themselves under such label, appropriating the city under modern visions on city living and wellbeing (Cánepa, 2010). In that reaffirmation, Lima residents have shaped new patterns in social mobility through their economic capacities and possibilities for settling in the city. For instance, Peruvian migrants today enjoying improved economic status are identified as emergent middle-income groups (Balbi & Arámbulo, 2009). Consumption practices and improved

education have worked in that sense, leading to residents' differentiation from not *Limeños*, and establishing affiliations that reflect their improved socio-economic status (Ames, 2014).

In this particular gastronomic context, food has a distinctive role as the representation of sociocultural systems taking part in urban actors' encounters. Foodstuffs linked with what is typical and native, to internal migrants and to disregarded public spaces – as in the case of market restaurants such as *cevicherías* - became attractive assets by the intervention of gastronomic actors, mainly well-known public figures. In that regard, social analysts and researchers pointed out that, beyond the economic dynamism, this period was raising attention to practices leading to commingling and commensality in the public realm, which may also bring outcomes in terms of social inclusion of “social groups historically excluded [which] have acquired visibility and recognition through their cuisine” (Cánepa et al., 2011, p.173 – own translation). They were referring to individuals of migrant background or associated with low socioeconomic classes as central pieces for building the meanings and representations for such gastronomic interest.

Meanings and representations brought about in the Peruvian gastronomic context have highlighted the sociocultural diversity of Peruvian residents, focusing on Lima as the centre of cultural confluence in the country. This diversity likewise explains the diverse offer of products and culinary practices constituting the gastronomic landscape. Thus, the notion of diversity, also applied to the food offer, acknowledges the participation of diverse key actors – such as producers, cooks and traders – who confer meanings and qualities to these goods from their own social histories, uses and perspectives. Residents who can follow the trends, affording the increasing commercial values of certain foodstuffs, or translating those aesthetic tones into their entrepreneurial spaces, have re-appropriated the meanings and representations introduced in this period, and contributed to their assimilation in the urban imaginary (Ames, 2014). These re-appropriated expressions are for instance found in popular stalls, such as those offering the popular *ceviche*

at markets under renewed aesthetic tones and counting with a new clientele looking for this product.

This way, the gastronomic boom has also matched with modern and cosmopolitan aspirations in urban life through the involvement of figures such as chefs who are internationally trained and have become symbols of high living standards. These contrasting but complementary notions have worked to secure the activation of economic activities and spaces related to food and traditional cuisine, such as markets and street food stalls (Fan, 2013; Wilson, 2013). Especially for sites portrayed in media, after the appearance of gastronomic figures or because of their messages and decorations under gastronomic values, customers have responded with a renewed openness for these locations and for the cooks and workers behind that traditional offer. This turn was perceptible in the public sphere of the city –considering that markets and their offer were usually looked down for being ordinary and with more deficiencies than positive values (Vidaurre, 2016).

However, whether these images on people, food and places are challenging meanings among market users is not as clear as the evident increase on food consumption observed in Lima. Reports on economic trends hide or ignore these parallel social negotiations. Moreover, even if introducing changing significances around food practices, it is still hard to associate positive turns in social values towards openness and inclusion of the diversity of residents given the prevailing sources of social fragmentation. In particular, this remains unclear given the prevailing tensions on how markets and traders are evaluated. Although it is still a pending task to further explore these connections between diversity and its changing meanings from the intersection of people, food and places, it is possible to build approximations to such meanings from representations collectively recreated at these spaces. For instance, these could be observed in reworked elements of the material environment at markets after the gastronomic discourse. Therefore, the popularity gained by gastronomic trends in Lima invites to reflect on points of convergence, of collective action around activities and resources despite the known tensions from coexistence in diversity.

5.1.2 Diverse traders and unequal popularity among market stalls

The strong communication and media components characterising food campaigns and trends made the popularised qualities on food diversity easily identifiable by local consumers. Those appealing qualities may be present at markets in certain offers and material representations, but not be equally found across these collective spaces. At both case studies, next to thriving stalls such as *cevicherías*, less appealing sections were left to a certain extent invisible or unvisited for newcomers or those looking for a turn in the diversity of the food offer. These areas of less visibility were not connected to thriving spaces of commerce, for instance to which the Gastronomic Boom could be more easily associated, and were instead associated with less successful particularities, such as management and maintenance struggles (See Section 4.1.1).

Even if both markets in this study had been portrayed in gastronomic narratives and media reports, the complete situation of these was not featured. For instance, gastronomic reports could hide the various visual impressions one could get after entering these buildings. It was easy to identify thriving stalls following manifestations and visual arrangements highlighted by food tendencies, but as market users described, these observations were followed by a sense of how unequally other stalls operated, not sharing the same reasons for success. Those thriving stalls enjoyed of a higher visibility, mostly aligned with aesthetic aspects and concepts raised by contemporary food trends. It was often explained by how traders, being individual entrepreneurs, were able to progress, in social and economic terms. However, at the rest of stalls that could be counted as the majority, customers found everyday products and services in the unfavourable and uncomfortable conditions they typically encountered at markets. These did not fit into the ideals of the gastronomic imaginary, nor on the competitive commercial scenario faced today, with private businesses providing comfort and privacy for modern and quotidian practices.

Stalls out of the most visited sections struggled with keeping customers' interest without the appealing variety of products or images that could 'certify' that it was worth the visit. Through practices, preferences and affiliations, market users defined the contrasting dynamism at markets, and in that way reinforced differences sustaining images and meanings on these sites, as in the case of gastronomic or public markers. Reflecting about contrasts on the commercial success of traders, and on the visibility and level of attendance these entrepreneurs enjoyed, it was important to closely look at the different roles and characteristics attached to actors directly regarded as shaping these spaces on the everyday.

San Jose market enjoyed of a particularly vibrant ceviche section, but commercial dynamics considerably changed when moving away from it. The high dynamism and customer concentration around these stalls contrasted with less busy stalls offering other types of foodstuffs and services for the local clientele. The popularity gained by *cevicherías*, especially since the visit of chef Gaston Acurio to one of these restaurants (See Figure 4.1), marked a new pace for this section. However, it was not levelled up by other types of businesses at this market. These have continued with their regular offer and felt most strongly the competition with private businesses that increasingly took a considerable portion of their attendance. Moving away from *cevicherías*, diverse kinds of products, dishes and not food related services (such as cobblers and tailors, and stalls selling houseware items) appeared in vending spaces of varied and often less attractive conditions (See Figure 5.2).



Figure 5.2 Market restaurants during midday at San Jose Market. February, 2015

The sector concentrating market *cevicherías* (above) received the highest attendance of daily visitors. Other market restaurants were located in different corridors (below), operating next to mixed businesses. The attendance was considerably lower than at *cevicherías*, even during peak hours (See Section 4.2.5).

At Mercado N.1, it was the front line of stalls that received a higher number of visitors, where mostly native products and other gourmet foodstuffs were attractively organised and decorated for catching the attention of newcomers - such as tourists arriving from Miraflores and media reporters looking to document the sources of local culinary traditions. Passing this line, flows of

people started to reduce and less appealing conditions appeared in the setting. Infrastructural and maintenance deficiencies became more evident without other eye-catching elements in the decoration. Basically, the only businesses challenging the reduced circulation towards the back and upper levels of the market were ceviche and seafood market restaurants given the linked culinary values and their preference among customers (See Figure 5.1).

However, moving around the entire site, infrastructural limitations became easily noticeable (See Section 4.2.2). As Irma, trader and frequent customer at Mercado N.1, pointed out:

“when you see it on TV, the market looks good, isn’t it? It looks very nice, but it’s actually not, it’s horrible. I’m even embarrassed (...) it could be nicer. (...)” (Irma, trader, Mercado N.1)

Traders had put independent efforts in fitting their stalls to their needs and possibilities, and it became evident in the contrasting setting. Upper levels seemed mostly abandoned, few stalls were open, and others were either abandoned or used as improvised storage. Among those open stalls, a couple had clothes and plastic items on offer, the others served morning and afternoon meals for usual diners, as in the case of workers from neighbouring areas who knew about these spots. The extremely low activity at the upper levels made these go almost unnoticed or did not raise the interest of visitors concentrating around the most attractive and ready-to-consume offers.

Markets’ improvements were regarded as coming along renewed forms of thinking and using these spaces, identified from contemporary demands in city living, to which traders were not regarded as having adapted. Traders’ trajectories of improvement and achievement were evaluated from the progress and limitations that markets experienced. Customers expressed traders had limited capacities to cope with new times and provide better services. This collective was thus regarded as not yet able to move out of the poor circumstances of marketplaces. In many cases, customers described this image on traders by referring to a class or a group to which they were not

similar – raising characteristics of cultural backgrounds not recognised as part of the *Limeño* identity (Cánepa, 2010) – and to which they were little interested in relating to.

Moreover, traders and customers expressed that markets are ‘of the people’ [*del pueblo*] (Interview MN1-T4; SJM-T2; MN1-C6). This notion was applied under the negative connotation of being public, thus suffering from deficiencies in their management and in conditions of poverty (Vega Centeno, 2013). Then markets were regarded as being accessible to low-income majorities and assumed to comply with low standards of quality in their services. In that sense, market users described the local diversity of individuals brought together in terms of social, economic and cultural backgrounds, as well as on trajectories of social mobility and economic standing, applying through these notions a stratification of urban groups (Balbi & Arámbulo, 2009). From these forms of differentiation, customers and traders described who they expected to encounter among market users. They raised these descriptions according to assumed socio-economic profiles, applying adjectives such as *pituquitos* [high income], *blanquitos* [white people, associated with high-income too], *cholos* or *serranos* [born in the coast or in the highlands] (Interview MN1-C3; MN1-C7; SJM-T1). The latter was mainly applied to traders, characterised as a migrant collective.

Both markets in this study started operations with migrants who found work and a way to secure a livelihood for their families at these sites. Nowadays, old generations and descendants born in Lima were running these businesses but the collective was still considered of migrant origin. As in the case of market settings, visual elements came into play in associating significances to traders and their labour. Among these, their appearance (i.e. physical features, accents and ways of dressing, for instance denoting Andean origins) and the fact of working under the market roof – and what it implied for working conditions - were elements shaping understandings on traders’ capacities (See Figure 5.3).



Figure 5.3 Diverse traders at pedestrian walk connected to back door of Mercado N.1. January, 2015

In both markets, traders portrayed elements that showed their backgrounds and cultural affiliations – as in the case of dresses - and also highlighted these qualities for their products.

Moreover, traders were pointed as being subject to deprivations that relied on their sociocultural affiliations and histories in the capital (Matos Mar, 2004). Linked to these views on traders, there was also the notion of them being less skilled than *Limeños*. Erick, frequent customer at Mercado N.1, referred to these assumptions on their origin, when asked to describe the group working at this market:

“(...) there are more people from the provinces than from Lima. The ‘Limeño’ is cleverer, he goes to work somewhere else, he doesn’t sell fish for example (...) bus driver, bus collector, I don’t know (...) I find slight differences [among traders], but it [trader’s group] doesn’t change [essentially].” (Erick, customer, Mercado N.1)

From these views, there was an assumed restricted access to education, which explained users' understandings on traders' capacities to overcome the unfavourable conditions found at markets:

"I guess they have studied, primary and secondary school. I don't know if they have technical or university degree, I don't think so. I have the impression that most of them don't, otherwise they would be working in another thing." (Karen, customer, San Jose Market)

In that way, most customers interviewed took for granted that traders lacked access to formal education, this explaining the enduring limitations under which they operated. More specialised knowledge on their fields of work would have provided them with understandings of progress aligned to imperatives of social and economic advancement, and thus, they would have better adapted to a competitive environment of modern and private forms of commerce and consumption:

"Maybe they're selling well now, they offer their products and they live with that, because they don't understand that improving certain aspects, they would sell twice they sell now." (Nidia, customer, San Jose Market)

There were traders who also referred to their colleagues under divisive considerations, with the purpose of distancing themselves to what appears an unchanging image of market workers. To distance from such typical image, they often highlighted their professional experiences and aspirations. For Alicia, trader at San Jose, the scarce efforts she identified on renovating this market lied on colleagues' backward thinking in terms of their labour and workspace. For her, they were not able to envision better conditions and thus, did not see the need to undertake infrastructural or service changes:

"I would like [the market] to be better and it had its opportunity but sadly here, associates – I'm also one – they're generally older people. Maybe... I don't want to speak badly [of them] but there's a lot of ignorance. We proposed to build a new market, to make it more modern, cleaner, more organised, but well, most people, past owners, old dealers, think that businesses will benefit from the building and maybe they will kick us out. It's not like that (...)" (Alicia, trader, San Jose Market)

This disagreement on forms of conducting market work lied on arguments on the little formative opportunities of traders, but also on their social and cultural background. Based on this, market users explained where these differing views on improvement were rooted. For instance, old traders to which Alicia referred were regarded as able to work under harder conditions because of the strong deprivations from their assumed social and economic standings, and for having been subject to intense labours in their rural places of origin.

In that sense, some traders described their colleagues as being able to work for long hours to make a good profit but with limited interventions and aspirations in their quality of life. In that way, it was described the little interest in engaging with improvements in the workspace and even with having healthier work practices, regardless they might be enjoying better economic situations. Irma, an old trader at Mercado N.1 and born in Lima, referred to a colleague coming from an Andean location to support similar views on her group of colleagues:

“I’ve noticed that people are very hard working (...) they’re very good people too and they put efforts on improving their businesses and I guess their lives, and their family’s lives too, because it’s not all about work. I’ve realised that they work a lot and it’s not all about work, you also have to dedicate [time] to the family. (...) they have to come to work, they can’t [say] ‘today I’m not working because I’m going to the beach’, no. (...) maybe because they’re used since very little to work and work. (...) for example, he [neighbour] works a lot, and he tells me that he has worked very hard at the farm, when he was a child, working the land, and now he tells me that he has problems with the back. So, I tell him ‘one day go for a stroll, [he says] ‘no, I have to come to work’, everything is work and work... I’m over it (...)” (Irma, trader, Mercado N.1)

As in the case of Irma’s colleague, there might be traders sharing aspects on personal histories of poverty and migration and the intense dedication to their stalls. Nonetheless, these images often overlooked how varied are today’s histories of social and economic mobility and learning trajectories among traders. For instance, assumptions on the lack of capacities overlooked the fact that traders were not the older generation of migrants but a new generation

of Lima residents. Likewise, these assumptions overlooked the value of those backgrounds in their expertise on market labour. This was the case of Mariela, at Mercado N.1:

“My parents started [working at market]. My dad is from a province, from Cusco, and he works here since he was 12 years old. He started helping carrying bags and then, there was the opportunity to get a stall (...) My dad has more than 50 years working here, almost his whole life (...) so I started here knowing [about the business].” (Mariela, trader, Mercado N.1)

These efforts would still be scarce to overcome images that have been built around traders, and thus would not be enough to overcome the labels of markets as popular and poor. Customers as Daniel found markets and traders remaining backwards when comparing these to modern food services, but recognised their efforts and advances in terms of their assumed limitations:

“The market is an example of an emerging popular economy, an example of how people [traders] get over their economic limitations, education... I saw it in the market, as a symbol, as an example of that (...)” (Daniel, customer, San Jose Market)

Although there was certain acknowledgement on the economic progress achieved by some traders and their businesses, as for *cevicherías* at both markets, it was more often the case that customers pointed at markets as reflecting traders' similar difficulties for present times. The increased commercial activity of certain businesses was regarded as highly individual, not shared by the collective working together and was not actually inviting to recognise traders' varied trajectories and valuable contributions to the common space. Gastronomic activities such as shopping for specialties, 'foodie' explorations and gastronomic tourism appeared to encourage the revaluation of practices, items and places of consumption. However, the scope of these influences is limited in overcoming forms of social inequality and segregation, and may even hide tensions from social differentiations expressed in markets' everyday use. Despite this, it is worth exploring changing meanings and representations around markets in order to identify

forms of visibility and recognition among residents encountering around these spaces and its common activities – such as food exchange and consumption.

5.1.3 Visible expressions of gastronomic recognition

Current imaginaries on markets have been influenced by the appropriation of messages from the ‘Gastronomic Boom’ period, and the reproduction of related practices by market actors, whom in turn shape these settings from how some stalls are set and what food offer is available. Messages from the gastronomic movement have emphasised the high quality and wide diversity of Peruvian products and dishes resulting from practices that reflect a diversity of sociocultural backgrounds in Lima and Peru: from ancient Andean populations to the later arrival of Europeans, Asians and Africans after the Spanish conquest. Gastronomic advocates have especially highlighted the qualities of tradition and diversity as making national cuisine unique and outstanding in the world, and even a tool for ‘social inclusion’, through the assimilation of varied sources and practices that are rooted in the sociocultural backgrounds forming the nation (Acurio et al., 2012). In that sense, this movement has also called for greater attention to native products and the origins of these, in the intention of revaluing little explored products that could become preferred delicacies in national and international markets. Likewise, it has also been encouraged to look at Peruvian regions and the work done by peasants, although the most profitable gastronomic activities are taking place in Lima and major cities – as seen in the growing restaurant and catering sector (Rockower, 2012).

Messages in gastronomic campaigns have been accompanied by aesthetic aspects playing key roles in dictating what is ‘better’ to look for, to residents and consumers. These aesthetic aspects portray refined cultural symbols associated with Peru and its resources, hence re-creating cultural values and merging these with current economic opportunities (Fan, 2013). Gastronomic actors and the meanings linked with their social status have worked well in consolidating these campaigns and ideals on national cuisine. The main

gastronomic promoters have been the Peruvian Association of Gastronomy (APEGA), gastronomic and tourism entrepreneurs, State agencies and chefs. These promoters have in common the aim of enhancing Peruvian gastronomy's visibility, but also share favourable socioeconomic and professional positions that have allowed them to become public figures and succeed in communicating food-related notions and practices. In addition, media partners, such as the most influential newspapers of the country, and specialised gastronomic journalists, have participated as gastronomic promoters, greatly contributing to spread these messages.

State agencies also acknowledged and appropriated the gastronomic discourse, being the Ministry of Foreign Trade and Tourism the most engaged since the beginning of these campaigns. It has supported the gastronomic 'movement' through food policies and touristic campaigns, national and international, carrying a strong emphasis on the internationalization of food products and values. In line with these efforts, this public agency launched the Peru branding strategy ('Marca Peru'), with the purpose of positioning the country as open and reliable for global publics and investments. Culinary values are highlighted through distinctive products, locations and ambassadors under this strategy (APEGA, 2013). A small group of private universities, where gastronomic figures are also involved, have also contributed with studies and academic publications in line with messages of partners from other sectors (Matta, 2013).

Among these promoters, chefs, mainly from high-end restaurants and trained abroad, have become key figures in gastronomic campaigns, contributing to the reproduction of meanings and representations among residents in everyday spaces of urban living. In particular, the chef Gaston Acurio has become a key image associated with this period. The chef's popularity has been outstanding, nationally and internationally. He has used food to advocate for social and political causes in Peru, as it was stated in his media appearances and arguments raised on national governments' redistributive efficacy – in relation to agricultural production and poverty, for instance. He has also consolidated as a successful entrepreneur and owner of a large

company of restaurants operating in Peru and abroad. Likewise, he has partnered with international and highly renowned chefs who backed or shared his ideas and projects at national and international scale (Acurio et al., 2012). He has been able to introduce and foster the visibility of Peruvian culinary culture to wider publics.

Visible elements, such as images and aesthetic aspects accompanying food spaces and offers, have been developed from influential figures such as the chef Gaston Acurio, and from meanings linked with their role in gastronomic and social systems. These have become widely used by food entrepreneurs to show explicit connections to gastronomic trends and thus, to the privileged standings of these actors. For instance, few traders had been able to secure a selling spot at Mistura festival or other gastronomic events, and not all traders followed Gaston Acurio's appearances on TV, but they were aware that using symbols of participation or acquaintance to the former was certainly a secure way to consolidate their businesses, become known by consumers and stand out among colleagues (See Figure 5.4). Thus, gastronomic images worked in raising traders and businesses' visibility at markets.

"[about Gastronomic Boom] the brand of it has been [the chef] Gaston Acurio. It all started from there, but he actually finished the painting, because we already had a basis which is Peruvian food itself. He finished polishing it. [About Peruvian food at Mercado N.1] As in any market you can find places to eat, but they [traders] are also putting efforts in giving you something good, in people to enjoy food not paying for something expensive. Good food is not in an expensive place, it can be in a market, outside, wherever you like." (Lucio, customer, Mercado N.1)



Photo provided by Lorenzo (Interview MN1-T2).

Figure 5.4 Public figures such as chef Gaston Acurio visiting 'El Cevichano' restaurant at Mercado N.1. February, 2016

Lorenzo, owner of the market restaurant (centre), and Gaston Acurio (right) during an international media report.

All these associations to public referents in modern consumption have enriched gastronomic messages and meanings and gave place to initiatives that have contributed to define representations that today build the local imaginary on Peruvian gastronomy. To accompany these visible signs, popular words or phrases used along food consumption practices, became in a way 'legitimized' by *Limeños* after being used in these campaigns. This way, their use spread across socio economic scales. For instance, Alicia, owner of the most popular ceviche stall at San Jose market, argued her customers looked for good taste when choosing where to have a ceviche because "we [Peruvians] are used to eat 'rico' [good taste]" (Interview SJM-T3). And in this search for good taste, it was also preferred to have dishes "*bien servidos* [well served]", in generous portions, as also raised by customers eating at the market (Interview SJM-C4). These assimilated oral expressions showed ways in which gastronomic messages recreated links between social groups through a resource of common interest such as food.

Nonetheless, even if gastronomic trends invited to look back at these sorts of urban spaces, experiences and individuals behind recognised offers, there were less visible aspects in which tensions from social differences remained, as those raised from labels on markets and workers. Gastronomic agents stand in different positions facing the promotion of local food and cuisine, as it could be observed through the images but also the offer and practices found at markets. These aspects raised evidence on practices of division or exclusion instead of the commonalities raised by food discourses. Gastronomic values were differently associated with chefs and traders, and they did not enjoy a similar public visibility. Likewise, these cultural values were not equally appropriated and accessed by customers from different socioeconomic groups. Hence, these aspects could be seen as reflections of social systems of unequal recognition and participation in the city (Ames, 2014).

For markets and street food stalls portrayed in media, customers have responded with a renewed openness and interest for these traditional sites. In that sense, despite contrasting forms of appropriation, these culinary trends and elements of reference have introduced opportunities for engaging with renewed ways of looking at shared urban spaces and to reformulate notions and expectations on these, from their diversity of users. Then, there can be renegotiations at stake, in terms of what is already common knowledge on markets – as in their infrastructural and service deficiencies – and what can be recreated from participating in the sharing of common resources. In the intention of approaching the varied actors and social trajectories that meet at marketplaces, I continue by exploring meanings and representations configuring market imaginaries, impacting on its settings and on the unequal visibility of agents participating in these. Moreover, I explore market users' responses in collectively recreating forms of recognition through their everyday engagements with these spaces.

5.2 Visible expressions of diversity in market imaginaries

“[influence of gastronomic boom] Maybe there’s a taboo in terms of market food not being hygienic and not everyone looking for it, so it can break that taboo. There’s Santa Anita for instance, which is a good restaurant in a market. Thus, it breaks the paradigm that the market is perhaps only for C and D [lower] economic classes and so people don’t go there because you will be mistreated, the service will be bad, everything will be dirty and you can get sick. None of those has happened to me (...)”

(Ricardo, customer, San Jose Market)

Gastronomic influences have worked in drawing attention to marketplaces as typical spaces of the city where qualities of local cuisine are appreciated. Following these influences, the most popular locations at markets manage images reflecting meanings around what is considered typical and in desirable standards to consume. Meanings and representations on tradition and diversity have been strongly emphasized by traders, in order to align the culinary imaginary and the expectations it raises on what to expect and look for at markets. Thus, gastronomic awareness has worked for reshaping notions on the quality of market services, and also on residents and social groups that could be encountered at these sites, as Ricardo stated above.

Observing the different visibility of stalls and food offers at both markets, I explored meanings applied by market actors to different others, which worked for establishing divisions or commonalities among them along shared activities. These aspects led me to address imaginaries on markets and the sociocultural differences behind the visibility of meanings and representations of diversity, impacting on traders and customers’ participation of these spaces. Their increasing involvement may counteract negative connotations on market settings and operations, creating or recreating these from encounters around

food and culinary activities. Hence, market users' actions are here analysed in their contributions to the recognition of users in their diversity.

5.2.1 Traders and popular stalls: meanings and representations of gastronomic recognition at San Jose Market

The popularity and profitability of the ceviche offer at these markets, as well as for other *cevicherías* inside and outside markets in Lima, raised with the popularity of Peruvian gastronomy. It could get positioned among local economic actors that also aimed to adapt to modern trends of consumption (Filgueiras, 2009). Figures such as the chef Gaston Acurio have promoted, for over a decade, the consolidation of a thriving gastronomic sector. In this intention, they have achieved to influence on markets from the way food is regarded as a sociocultural value and a tool for commercial development. These actions have as well impacted on marketplaces and traders' perspectives on how to better conduct their work. Enrique, San Jose trader, pointed out in relation to *cevicherías*:

“there has been a big change in cevicherías. I can say that thanks to gastronomy, and the entrepreneur Gaston [Acurio], there's more entrepreneurship on Peruvian food internationally and also at markets. If you see, cevicherías in a market are a 'goal' [success] but you must have knowledge about it.” (Enrique, trader, San Jose Market)

Gastronomic figures have been key in turning messages into practices that could be easily appropriated by customers, demonstrating a certain proximity among social classes through common interests on foodstuffs. Andrés, Alicia's frequent diner, remembered:

“Before it seemed to me the market didn’t have that many people. I think the fact of Gaston [Acurio, visiting San Jose market] has made more people go (...) Gaston went around 9 years ago, but before he went I had already been recommended [a cevichería at this market]. I think it’s the same for any restaurant, of any size. Gaston goes, you appear in his programme and that publicity is very important for you, people will go anyway to eat or try [food] there.” (Andrés, customer, San Jose Market)

The chef, apart from being frequently portrayed in newspapers and media, as well as being particularly active in social networks, hosts a TV show called “Aventura Culinaria” (Culinary Adventure), which started in parallel to the beginning of this period of renewed interest in national foodstuffs. In these episodes, he has addressed this focus on Peruvian food, especially in regard to taste, authenticity and places where to look for these qualities. What have made the contents so appealing have not only been the foodstuffs he presented as delicacies but also the way in which these have been approached. In all locations, Gaston Acurio tasted and enjoyed products and dishes on camera, and his satisfaction meant the approval of that location for any potential diner. Audience response was positive, actually assuming these locations should be part of his or her own future culinary adventure, thus highly influencing the popularity of the place. For traders, Gaston Acurio’s visits implied a secure way of gaining visibility, and from this experience, they learned what elements worked better for that purpose and what to strengthen and highlight in order to secure the popularity and continuation of a thriving business. This has been indeed the situation for Alicia:

“(...) many people told me ‘I come recommended by Gaston [Acurio], he sent me to try your ceviche’. Well, around 20 people told me that, I always laughed because I thought it was a joke but when he came... a lady [from TV show] told me ‘Gaston is coming tomorrow’, [Alicia] ‘thank you very much’, ‘yes, look, we want to record you because Gaston is going to make a culinary adventure about markets’, and I said ‘sure, no problem’. I put on my jacket [chef uniform], organised my staff and he came. I prepared ceviche and he recorded me for ‘Aventura Culinaria’, then he came another time for a parihuela [seafood dish] (...) because he helped me with publicity, I have a higher customer turnout. He has also helped me to be more updated with [social] networks because on YouTube I have several interviews related to him. Interviews from the municipality and TV channels that have come to record, and that helps me to become more popular, to sell more, it is marketing. And thanks to God, because I didn’t ask for it, I didn’t pay for it but he came, he visited me.” (Alicia, trader, San Jose Market)

Acknowledging these possibilities, traders who wanted to show the recognition of their culinary qualities increasingly put special efforts in aesthetic elements, such as in dishes and stalls appearance. These were readily perceptible characteristics at market stalls where gastronomic tendencies were positively experienced. They were aware that to secure the visibility of their improvements, and along these, recognition in their labour, it was key to introduce images that could certify the quality of their offer. This included symbols that could back their culinary expertise, for instance in their participation in known culinary environments, out of markets. Therefore, traders started to display colourful banners with pictures of traders with chefs who have visited them, buying special products and approving the dishes served in these settings. Likewise, traders included gastronomic symbols, such as names of culinary festivals, as forms of proving the quality and taste of their offer.

Particularly in the case of San Jose market, these brands were most noticeable at Alicia’s restaurant (See Figure 5.5). Alicia was the owner of the most popular ceviche restaurant at this market, with a contrastingly higher customer turnout and also occupying a larger portion of the ceviche section – she owned various contiguous stalls where her team and her served the large daily clientele. The

banners in her restaurant included pictures of her with the chef Gaston Acurio, and the label of the gastronomic festival “Mistura” next to the restaurant’s name. These were really eye-catching elements and would work better than ‘*jaladores*’ [workers at market restaurants] calling any first-time visitor.



Figure 5.5 Alicia’s *cevichería* at San Jose Market. April, 2014

Banners showed Alicia’s pictures with the chef Gaston Acurio and her participation in various “Mistura” gastronomic festivals.

Regarding Mistura, the Peruvian Gastronomic Association organised this gastronomic event since 2008, with the purpose of bringing together the best cooks and producers from all over the country. There was a market section, showcasing native and exotic dishes and products, and there was also a section for market food, where cooks mainly from Lima markets were invited to participate. Mistura is now a highly known brand and to participate in it is a symbol of recognition for any cook or producer (CEPLAN, 2012; Fan, 2013). This is why they tried to make it visible for customers as much as possible (i.e. including logos in aprons, banners, pictures and other decorative items) as it

is understood as a symbol of reliance on the taste and quality of foodstuffs, and also forms of securing their recognition as experts in food affairs.

Food entrepreneurs who have participated in Mistura were proud of this recognition and acknowledged the possibilities it has opened for gaining new experiences, relations and perspectives for their work. Market traders mentioned applying these resources for instance in how they presented their offer to a public looking for added values, aiming to gain their preference among other available options. As Alicia, San Jose market trader, expressed:

“It’s my thing, I love to cook, I’ve specialised (...) The first time I went to Mistura I met many chefs who are very nice people, very humble, even if they’re business men and have food chains. I liked how they can tell you about their experiences on starting a restaurant so I said ‘I also have to specialise’, it’s not just that I know how to make a ceviche, I should also want to learn about other things. Because it’s important to serve a well-presented dish, that’s what I was lacking, maybe the dish decoration... maybe something deeper than what I know. So, I learned, I learned (...) of high cuisine and all that stuff, little things that are useful to do it in a better way.” (Alicia, trader, San Jose Market)

In that way, Alicia and other traders running successful businesses at both markets learned from this gastronomic exposure about ways to specialise according to high-cuisine referents. In their own spaces and along their work, traders showed their exposure and close connection to figures and referents for culinary taste and quality through the appropriation of symbols and messages on Peruvian cuisine spread during this period. Likewise, some customers perceived that gastronomic brands or foodstuffs, even if only found at some stalls, were making the market more appealing to general consumers and not only to ceviche diners. As Karen, frequent customer at San Jose, stated:

“I’ve seen ceviche stalls that have been recognised and awarded by Mistura. I think one is called ‘Alicia’, I have seen two or three with a banner saying ‘awarded by Mistura’ in a certain year. Maybe that influences as well, not only people who go shopping to the market, but also others who just pass by and try ceviche or another thing. (...) Maybe that [symbols] is a ‘plus’ to make more people go and say ‘it’s trustworthy, for some reason they have been recognised’ (...)” (Karen, customer, San Jose Market)

Even if customers raised that markets’ struggles in services and infrastructure were difficult to be improved, at least in the short term, these sort of visible changes - for instance in stalls settings and presentation of foodstuffs - represented improved situations for markets. However, they would regard these changes basically centred around thriving stalls and attach these to the influence of gastronomic actors and campaigns on traders’ work (Interview SJM-C1; SJM-C2).

In spite of this, market imaginaries impacted by gastronomic associations pointed at market users’ appropriations of meanings and representations from these initiatives, and thus, showed how they renegotiated social and cultural barriers that were still conflictive out of this common field of encounter around food. This situation was related to Seligmann’s (2015) research on market traders in Cusco, Peru, who were subject to systems of racial segregation, and looked for recognition and social mobility through associations that could confer them with qualities such as being knowledgeable and skilled. These traders found that becoming associated with foreigners in their everyday labours showed they were able to serve and establish social relations with this well-regarded group of customers.

In San Jose, as I also found in Mercado N.1, traders’ specialisation was a key consideration for bringing renewed ways of looking at traders and their work at markets. It was likewise key to portray the materialisation of these capacities along the provisioning of enhanced services. Traders generally acknowledged the need for developing skills, not only for their businesses to grow, but also to show improved social and cultural situations, from their social exposure and culinary education. Moreover, aesthetic aspects have contributed to recreate

meanings and representations of the diversity of agents encountered at these sites. This way, images used in banners raised associations to enhanced social, cultural and economic standings for these traders, over long-lasting considerations in terms of class and race differentiation.

Thus, market traders were finding ways for the recognition of their labour and achievements, in their diversity of backgrounds, developing notions of belonging to the modern city, based on sociocultural systems that may instead segregate them from the urban imaginary. Nonetheless, these forms of recognition did not equally work for all traders at these markets and thus were compelled to adapt other than gastronomy-related responses to secure their livelihoods.

5.2.2 Traders' specialisation: diverse trajectories for recognition

In both markets, ceviche entrepreneurs have shown their good capacity to adapt to demands but also to commercial opportunities that have importantly opened after the 'boom' of Peruvian gastronomy. As well as Alicia, these traders emphasised on their specialisation and their efforts in maintaining an attractive stall for their visitors when referring to aspects making labour and offer distinctive. Other traders, specialised on gourmet or native products, have taken these opportunities for positioning their offer, organising their stalls to make visible a well-supplied array of products. They have also looked to stay up to date about current preferences of their customers – which implied to have a varied offer and manage information on foodstuffs that customers might be eager to learn about (i.e. health benefits, cooking suggestions, etc.). However, visibility and recognition following the gastronomic campaign have not been achievements acknowledged by the majority of traders since not all are able to provide these sorts of special offers, or do not enjoy the same popularity.

For the majority of traders, who did not count on a gastronomic exposure nor on the recognition gained from brands and images, strategies according to their capacities had to be implemented to ensure the appeal and reliability of

their offer. These traders continued focusing on learning about customers' demands beyond consumption trends, and actually based on their work experience. For instance, traders as Irma, at Mercado N.1, highlighted that customers demanded speed and practicality, looking to spend less time buying and moving around the site:

“Second and third floors are almost abandoned, and almost all (stalls) are deposits. This market was made to have three stories, but people don't go upstairs (...)” (Irma, trader, Mercado N.1)

Ines, poultry trader at San Jose market, also raised these demands deriving from customers' fast-paced living. In addition, she noted that space was key in providing a better service, as many stalls as hers had a reduced space and it diffculted their labours. Ines knew how to better process her products and had identified solutions to respond to customers' need of readiness but could not implement these changes since she was not able to afford a larger space to work (Interview SJM-T1). Other traders concentrated in specialising in traditional but less popularised foodstuffs. For instance, Jose, owner and cook of a market restaurant at San Jose, mentioned that it was a good strategy to sell *tamales* during the weekends, knowing this is an old tradition for weekend breakfast. He was then known at the market for this particular specialty over these days (Interview SJM-T6). Jose had completed higher education in Chemistry, and further noted that this formation was useful for improving their preparations and running his business, although it was not something that would be noticed by his colleagues or visitors.

These experiences made me contrast arguments raised on traders' lack of business skills and vision to improve market and labour conditions. Among traders I interviewed or exchanged views with during my visits, *Limeños* or not, it was raised how they envisioned good opportunities for livelihoods and social mobility through their labour. Being affected by 'neoliberal times' and a competitive environment as well as facing prevailing attitudes of discrimination for race and income, traders became involved in everyday negotiations to defend their livelihoods but also to demand the recognition of their histories,

affiliations and ways of living and working (Babb, 2008). In that sense, labour was understood as a tool for social mobility. It allowed them to receive or to provide their children with education, a home and good living conditions, key aspects raised when reflecting on aspirations and achievements from their work. Likewise, education was regarded as an opportunity to expand their labour horizons beyond the market, with better work and living opportunities.

It was true that a good portion of workers at these sites were not originally from Lima and that there were old traders who were working there already for long periods – even since the foundation of these markets. However, it was also true that new times had brought about new knowledge and visions to face market threats such as the reduced attendance. Especially among younger traders and descendants of a migrant generation, there were those who raised that through education and training they had found ways to enhance their services, and also expand the profitability and growth perspectives of their ventures. These traders had completed higher education or sought for professional experiences beyond markets, to later return with more tools for an enhanced work performance.

Hence, there were traders as Jose who mentioned having undertaken technical or higher education or having acquired work experiences in businesses out of the market. For instance, Alicia, owner of the thriving ceviche venture at San Jose market, studied psychology; Mariela, fruit and vegetables trader at Mercado N.1, received technical training in management; and Lorenzo, owner of a successful ceviche restaurant at Mercado N.1, worked as cook for different restaurants in Lima. Some descendants of old traders decided not to continue with their parents' business or to temporarily return to markets with the expectation of leaving when finding a better option. However, others as Alicia, Mariela and Lorenzo have undertaken their work under different perspectives of progress and it has certainly marked a different path for their individual stalls.

For Lorenzo, small but visible changes on how food was handled, served and prepared, could bring about major changes for traders' ventures:

"I don't want to say that I've discovered something but when I came here, with the experience I had in some restaurants, I wanted to offer that type of service, that people can feel that they're eating in a restaurant. I've talked about that with some people. (...) They can use glass things, they can do it nicely, put a nice jar, why a plastic jar, a cheap jar? Or a plate with different colours, broken, and then the cutlery as well, the napkins just like that... if you can give a good service, and to your staff or your collaborator (...) to dress him decently so they can see the cook and everyone [in the stall] in uniform, and to distinguish, to give something better." (Lorenzo, trader, Mercado N.1)

Making customers aware of foodstuffs quality and good service was hard when not counting on the visible conditions of modern or refined settings that Lorenzo and other traders were able to adapt. These were materialised representations of 'labels' or meanings under which these residents could be differentiated (Fincher, 2017).



Figure 5.6 Market restaurants offering typical dishes for breakfast and lunch at Mercado N.1. March, 2015

These stalls had a reduced attendance despite their fair variety of food specialties and the colourful banners directed to attract the clientele. These did not count with the same visible characteristics of popular stalls – such as culinary brands in their banners.

For the majority of traders, gastronomic markers were not equally accessible, and they aimed to overcome that contrasting visibility among stalls by addressing customers' preferences through their expertise and their capacity to diversify their offer and activities (See Figure 5.6). Nonetheless, it has been challenging for traders to re-create labels placing them under unequal possibilities at markets and in urban living. Customers have also found ways of differentiation and recognition through their encounters at these sites.

5.2.3 Gastronomic customers: assimilating differentiated offers at Mercado N.1

Activities raising more interest at markets have been linked to gastronomic trends, and for some, these have worked as markers of modern lifestyles and recognition of social status. Through consumption practices, customers as well defined their positionalities in relation to these trends, and to the markers of taste and status to which these were associated. In that way, traditional and diverse foodstuffs have become well valued for customers, particularly in locations where they could recognise symbols from these campaigns, something that could reaffirm them as knowledgeable consumers. Certain locations and offers gaining recognition in recent years have received special exposure from gastronomic initiatives and this has raised their popularity and public interest in accessing these valued resources.

Mercado N.1 in particular has gained such exposure from the gastronomic movement, and thus, has enjoyed of special attention from customers in the search of its well-valued offers. Although only certain stalls and commercial sectors complied with those symbols of visibility and recognition, it has been reinforced the gastronomic label placed on this market. Chefs from upscale restaurants publicly shared that they often visited it to get supplies for their cuisines, highlighting they could actually find everything they looked for among the gourmet, native and foreign products sold by traders and which were hard to find anywhere else in the city. Gaston Acurio was again the most outstanding of these figures. His appearances at the market were recalled by traders and customers as Aurora, who expressed the chef was one of the most relevant 'features' that could be attached to the market:

"Gaston [Acurio] has provided publicity to that market even in excess. That's why I know that many restaurants and chefs go to that market to buy, because of its variety and because you can see that products are good. Apart from that, from variety and that [popularity], I consider it's like any other market. (...) because of what I've watched on TV, I know that many restaurants and chefs buy there." (Aurora, customer, Mercado N.1)

This chef has become a reference for consumers and through his activities and public appearances, for instance on his TV show, has reinforced symbols popularised by gastronomic campaigns and assimilated at this market. Following this, its popularity as an emblematic and traditional market grew importantly over the last decade.

Besides Gaston Acurio's TV show, Mercado N.1 has also been featured in national and international media. In these appearances, there were images playing around the concepts of traditional, varied and selected offer making the site recognisable and aligned to concepts raised by gastronomic campaigns. This association to chefs and public figures also explained the acquaintance of traders with media and their desire to become publicly known – something I could experience in my visits:

Fieldnote Mercado N.1 16/02/2015

This day, inside the market, people's movements were different. At one of the stalls located by the main gate (...) there were a group of people working on setting up the recording of a TV advertisement, and there were even people outside the market, with the recording 'machinery' and cars. I talked to one person from the team, standing near the door, and he told me that display was because they were recording a soda advertisement. (...) He explained to me that before this, they had already visited the market and chosen that stall, that it was only one scene there, but it took a long time to set it. However, neither traders nor customers seemed to bother or take it as a situation out of normal.

Apart from TV, the market has been featured in mass media and social networks, reaching more effectively the knowledgeable consumers looking for the specialised offer (See Figure 5.7).



Figure 5.7 Gastronomic symbols at Mercado N.1.
Market main gate. April, 2015

This market, and in particular this view of the market, has been featured in photographs on media, accompanying campaigns to position culinary actors, food products and traditional sites such as this, strongly linked to the local gastronomic imaginary (APEGA, 2013; Matta, 2012).

For Mercado N.1, gastronomic images and public exposure have added to a recognition already built on known characteristics of being an emblematic yet high-end market. Mercado N.1 is situated in Surquillo, a district mainly populated by low to middle income groups. However, it is the proximity to Miraflores district and its economic activities, that have most noticeably defined market's attendance and the accessibility of this market's distinctive offer. Miraflores district is mainly composed by middle to upper-income groups. Traders remembered serving Miraflores and nearby upper-income neighbours since the market was founded and still recognise them as their main customers. Moreover, it is only few blocks away from the centre of this district, an important commercial, touristic and leisure hub, especially for that sector of inner Lima. Given the economic opportunities of this location, gastronomic

promoters supported the development of plans for making this market the first gourmet and touristic oriented in the capital. Hence, the social and economic standing of main customers and the particular urban location contributed to the recreation of notions on food quality and expertise on this site after gastronomic interventions and have distanced it from other markets focused on quotidian and more affordable demands.

This positioning backed the high prices applied by traders to their products. They argued that the high quality on demand implied higher investments for a more careful selection, as well as disposing important amounts of food. Customers agreed with food products being 'first class' quality, at least in terms of the fresh ones, and also mentioned finding a wide variety of culinary ingredients for the varied tastes of a clientele trusting in this supplying site after learning about others' gastronomic explorations (See Figure 5.8). Then, traders applied higher prices with the confidence that these would be surely agreed by their selected clientele:

"Here you find variety. In this market you find whatever you need, be it the season or not, we get it. Besides, quality is 'extra', highly superior to any other market, but you know that quality goes hand in hand with price too. And clients who come here, look for quality (...) it's a [social] sector in which maybe they don't care about the price, but they care about quality." (Mariela, trader, Mercado N.1)

From these considerations, market users often referred to customer profiles in relation to their social and economic characteristics, using indicators of status, including location of residence, to define customers' accessibility to market products and services.



Figure 5.8 “Frutas selectas” [Selected fruits] at stalls facing main gate of Mercado N.1. March, 2015

Stalls facing the main market gate showed a colourful array of natural and mostly native fruits and vegetables. Traders showed this attractive array with a particular openness and readiness to receive special visitors such as chefs, foreigners and journalists.

Customers shared this understanding about the market and those who are expected to be encountered shopping with them:

“you don’t find C or D [low – middle income] , you find from C to above, many people from A and B [upper socioeconomic levels] because it’s not so cheap (...) they [traders] already have a ‘sector’ [group of socioeconomic status].” (Erika, customer, Mercado N.1)

In response to the gastronomic image built around Mercado N.1, beyond regular customers who are able to pay for the higher cost of products, culinary actors (chefs, apprentices, entrepreneurs, etc.), Lima's foodies and tourists were the new important groups frequently visiting the market. They kept up a moderate attendance that considerably increased on the weekends. For Antonio, frequent client of Mercado N.1, chefs' visits to this market raised its popularity, differentiating it from similar places and differentiating those who buy at this place:

"(...) it makes it a market in which you can, not only buy everyday food, but also food to prepare different things – fusion, 'novoandina' (new Andean food), and all these things. It makes it a market for people who are chefs, 'wanna-be' chefs or foodies. So, people who like this, go there." (Antonio, customer, Mercado N.1)

Using urban labels for social groups, Lucio pointed out these characteristics in the attendance:

"There are people from areas nearby, but people from other [urban/socioeconomic] sectors too. Obviously, when you see Surquillo [market], you see more 'blanquitos' [white people, associated with high-income], to say it somehow. I see many foreigners there too. (...) 'Pituquitos' [high-income people], I see many 'pituquitos'. [Main customers are] mostly the 'pituquitos', they buy in less quantities, but traders know they are loyal customers, who are going to find what they look for and know where, so they go." (Lucio, customer, Mercado N.1)

Customers likewise described the market being a site linked to expertise on food matters. Also managing meanings and representations of contemporary trends, they pointed at market advantages in comparison to specialty stores and most upscale supermarkets:

"(...) to be honest, people who know a lot about products, who like to cook well, they can find everything there, more than in Wong [supermarket] because there are things you can't find in Wong." (Erika, customer, Mercado N.1)

In that sense, customers put aside, although momentarily, the negative aspects of the site – such as the infrastructural conditions and market areas not equally visible - that likewise shaped experiences in it:

“[what differentiates the market] If we take its variety, there’s nothing. I think that is its strength. Maybe also the fact that in cooking programmes here, many celebrities from these go [to the market]. So, Gaston [Acurio], Sandra Plevisani, [Pedro Miguel] Schiaffino goes too I think... there are many people who go there for shopping. I imagine this raises the quality, they make of it a well-known place for shopping.” (Antonio, customer, Mercado N.1)

These elements, the particular setting and traders’ performances have worked out very well in positioning the market as a mix of popular and modern gastronomic destination for residents interested in its offer, and for tourists looking for a gastronomic destination and a first approach to traditional Peruvian food in the capital.

Thus, in addition to aesthetic aspects, food also worked as a tool for materialising differences defining the clientele. Selected food products worked for building divisions among those ‘who are in the game’ (De La Pradelle, 2006), that is, those who can participate in the specialised space of consumption. In that way, not all regular and occasional visitors agreed that the market’s popularity and variety justified the higher prices:

“[chef Acurio’s influence?] yes, I think so, at least in prices. Fruits are much more expensive, vegetables too. There are fruits that became trendy and that has progressively increased the costs, and I think that started from the fact that gastronomy was portrayed on TV for everybody to watch it and know it, and prices started to increase, even in restaurants.” (Rita, customer, Mercado N.1)

Under such divisions, commercial and cultural practices can be recognised as expressions of difference among residents, even if discourses of consumption seem to bring opposite messages. Zukin (2011) raised related observations from cultural consumption processes driving land use changes. These were also reasons for which some local customers have preferred to move to other

supplying and more affordable options for their daily needs, while other residents defined their preference on this option instead, in the search for specialties.

Then, the specialisation of traders and prices have worked as mechanisms for 'cleansing' this market and left only customers who could access those products (Zukin, 2008; 2011). Consumption trends often highlight the participation of modern actors with high-end lifestyles taken as markers of taste. However, the messages and expressions underlying these trends could hide a wider public only aspiring to try the portrayed foodstuffs, or the actual conditions in which food provisioning takes place daily. In that sense, markets may be open to host diverse conglomerations of products and individuals but taking part in gastronomic practices at these may still be subject to social and economic divisions defining who and what wants to be encountered at markets (De La Pradelle, 2006).

Then, the market imaginary contained differences between this site and others of related services in Lima, sustained on notions implying social divisions among agents accessing or not its food offer. San Jose Market raised other representations of sociocultural meanings around food, and negotiations in terms of the selectivity of who takes part in culinary encounters. As in this case, it is interesting to explore for this other market what are residents' forms of appropriation and collective adaptation of images and notions around urban experiences in common.

5.2.4 Traditional customers: assimilating everyday diversity at San Jose Market

At San Jose, fruits and vegetables of the season abounded, same as those that were of everyday use at households. These products, and other prepared dishes, such as ceviche, composed the varied selection of supplies characterising this market. Broadly speaking, customers were mostly from the predominant middle-income groups of the surrounding areas to Jesus Maria district, relying on the availability of local products suiting their needs and budget. Unlike the other market, tourists, foodies or public figures were rarely seen, and their occasional presence would even break the quotidian pace.

Customers referred to differences in spending capacities to identify who were the regular market users. They relied on what they had observed other customers buying, assuming that quantities and amounts demonstrated how much they were able to afford:

“There are people from classes A, B, C (...) there are class A [high income] people because you can see they are people who have money, and do their shopping, and easily buy in good amounts. But also classes B and [middle income] C, who ask for little amounts, or ask for credit, and traders give them credit, probably they know them.” (Tula, customer, San Jose Market)

But middle-income groups are indeed of varied spending capacity, and Jesus Maria’s location, in close connection to these groups and neighbourhoods in central Lima, allows for that convergence. For Andrés, it was a convenient location and it was in fact his preferred characteristics on this market:

“I live in Pueblo Libre and sometimes we go to buy something to the Pueblo Libre market but it’s small, you don’t know if you will find everything. This one is like older, and you know you will find everything, and around that area there’s a lot of commerce. I think it’s more central too. Very few districts are as central as Jesus Maria. I think that in general, it also has a good level of attendance (...) Maybe in peripheries markets have more movement, maybe they do, but just talking about central areas of Lima, I think it’s how it is.” (Andrés, customer, San Jose Market)

As Andrés mentioned, around San Jose market there is a lot of commerce because it is located within Jesus Maria district's commercial hub. Commerce at this hub is oriented to neighbours' quotidian needs, thus the large number of convenience and clothing stores, pharmacies, banks, among others. Customers mentioned regularly shopping at stores nearby, and among the youngest, there were some who acknowledged visiting the market only after they became acquainted with this commercial zone:

"Before knowing the market per se, I knew about it because of clothing stores nearby. Before there were no malls, so clothes were not bought here [pointing at the mall where interview takes place] but there [the market area], so it was that [first] and the market in second place."
(Ricardo, customer, San Jose Market)

In order to regain visibility and respond to these external competitors, the market hosted an important number of stalls offering clothing, home accessories, among other non-food related products and services. These covered a large extension of the market, reflecting that traders also took opportunities from the varied commercial activities out of the market site by connecting their ventures with these offers and demands.

In spite of this, food stalls were still attracting a large portion of customers. A typical and fairly varied supply of national products, and market restaurants, such as the popular ceviche stalls, mostly kept up the regular attendance. Prices were generally lower than at Mercado N.1, and distinctive items such as exotic fruits or imported products were hardly found. As a fruit trader made me notice, people did not usually look for them and were above the expected prices, so it was not good business to bring them to the market. The variety of products was broad enough to the tastes and the spending capacity of their customers, and the concern on bringing 'novelties' or having more variety than others was not actually what defined a more successful competence among traders. This applied to *cevicherías* and other market restaurants. For instance, the most successful *cevicherías* were those achieving to meet the standards of a good known taste, generous portions and 'market' prices – that is, generally lower than other options outside (See Figure 5.9):

“I think that service, what I pay, the size of the portion, the quality of food, flavour, presentation, everything, I think it’s fine. I like it, that’s why I go back.” (Andrés, customer, San Jose Market)



Figure 5.9 Lunch table at ceviche restaurant in San Jose Market.
December, 2014

The presentation of dishes was noticeably less reworked than at Mercado N.1, using plastic items and a modest decoration of tables. As various owners of *cevicherías* described, their servings were fresh, generous and at accessible prices.

Thus, main customers recognised the market as a reliable option for addressing everyday and varied needs. It was also identified as accessible, because of the location and the prices that allowed neighbours from various central districts to approach it. These conditions basically sustained this market’s image as traditional. Customers I exchanged views with, as Susana, described it precisely under this label:

“There’s an issue for me that is the label ‘tradition’. It’s a traditional market, so when people talk about it [say] ‘The market of Jesus Maria’ [the district], because it’s big, besides it offers good products I think, at not so high prices – medium [prices] (...)” (Susana, customer, San Jose Market)

In this case, market qualities such as the moderate but agreeable diversity of fresh products and the accessibility of prices worked for increasing the demand particularly on popularized foodstuffs, such as ceviche and seafood dishes. Thus, the visibility gained by traditional foodstuffs has made market offer more attractive for customers looking for these qualities, as observed for Mercado N.1, despite struggles on infrastructure, maintenance and the private competitors with similar offers.

Meanings and representations – in settings and food selection – that worked for this market's recognition as traditional also made this site appealing for residents seeking the culinary values of current trends. The communication of culinary images and messages on media has been of central importance for encouraging consumers' interest in exploring these qualities in local food. An important aspect adding to this situation has been customers' sharing of their visits and experiences through social networks. This has backed the popularity and visibility gained by the food offer and showed forms in which residents assimilated concepts on urban resources that had been reworked by gastronomic discourses. This way, San Jose customers have been centrepieces in spreading the news about this market as a good ceviche spot, confirming its quality. Sharing those approving comments among friends and in social media, this information has been well received by new customers looking for reliable options for a typical treat:

"[there are customers] who get informed and are looking for a 'huarique' [small restaurant known for serving good food] and they learn about Alicia's [ceviche] restaurant and want to eat there. There are the ones who already know. If you're looking for ceviche in a place that will give it simple, tasty, fast, you can go there and leave, that's it. (...) I think it's the same for the rest of the market, but those who seek a place to go, go to Alicia's. They learn from other people or have found information on the internet." (Andrés, customer, San Jose Market)

At San Jose, newcomers looking for recognised gastronomic products and dishes were regarded as 'trendy' or high-income consumers, knowledgeable of well valued foodstuffs and who had the capacity to access any location in the search of a desired taste (Interview SJM-T5; SJM-C5). As Alicia reflected,

there were indeed people new to the market in her large clientele. There were people who, motivated for trying food specialties, looked for her even if they were not regular visitors of markets, and even if their visit implied to move across neighbourhoods and groups of different social and economic profile. She shared more memories in this regard:

“clients who come around are middle to upper class (...) the ones who come to the market. Many people from companies, young people from banks, clients from nearby companies, we have a big entity nearby called the Ministry of Health, the ONPE, the RENIEC [other government institutions] (...) mostly young people. You know how they also know about me? Through the internet, through social networks. So, they tell me ‘look Alicia, I was passing by Jesus Maria and I don’t know how I came in and it appears ‘Cevichería Alicia’ [on the phone], and I said how tasty, a ‘cevichito’, I’ll pass by’.” (Alicia, trader, San Jose Market)

Likewise, customers described the attendance as varied or diverse, especially at stalls selling prepared food (See Figure 5.10), and particularly in those market restaurants enjoying of higher popularity:

“(...) when buying prepared food, you can see everything. I wouldn’t say class A [upper class], I don’t know how to differentiate class A from B, but you know that people from levels B, C, D [upper-middle to low classes], you see them eating all together.” (Ricardo, customer, San Jose Market)



Figure 5.10 Diverse attendance eating together at *cevichería* in San Jose Market. February, 2015

Since the ceviche offer at this market has gained special visibility, some traders and customers argued this situation was actually having an overall positive impact at the market:

“(...) this type of business, of ceviche and sea food, has made Jesus Maria, or Jesus Maria market, to be well visited by clients, and there’s a lot of demand. (...) it wasn’t as busy as it is now, for example come at 1 pm and dishes fly over your head. It’s because of demand and at the moment [lunchtime], it’s peak hour in which people want to come (...)”
(Alicia, trader, San Jose Market)

In reality, recreations on the imaginary around the food offer and the visibility of this sector had only limited contributions to market operations. These aspects did not necessarily bring new customers to activate less popularised areas of commerce but contributed to sustain an image of reliance on the site and to keep up a moderate attendance (See Section 4.2.5).

The culinary awareness and increased demand on the ceviche section reflected a re-appropriation on the meaning of tradition, which implied the assimilation of current trends and associated gastronomic images into the significances of typical food offers at this market, raising its visibility. This re-appropriation of sociocultural meanings involved regular customers sharing to other *Limeños* their knowledge on the market as a reliable ceviche option, gastronomic images certifying the taste and quality, and new customers, who looked for visible and well-known options, and increased their consumption. In that way, from consumption practices they worked in the everyday production of these significances (Ames, 2014).

Customers, as well as traders, participated in the assimilation and recreation of social and cultural values sustaining imaginaries on modern living and status. Knowing how to move around a field of aestheticized and high-class associated spaces implied being recognised as more educated actors and also being able to afford the higher costs. Being educated or more knowledgeable about preferred practices in society became evident in the sphere of markets. It proved how it was central for the recognition of social trajectories of status, or aspirations on this, in the city. In that sense, even if not all market actors were equally recognised as positively contributing to markets' functioning, from their everyday actions they participated in recreating the selectivity or openness of the shared space.

5.2.5 Co creating meanings and representations of diversity in market imaginaries

Market users' activities at markets and around food allowed me to understand negotiations over the recognition of different users and trajectories contributing to the reproduction of sociocultural meanings of diversity in these shared spaces. Moreover, traders and customers reflected on the visibility of other individuals, known or expected to be encountered and contributing to the recreation of market imaginaries around meanings such as selectivity or openness to social differences. In both cases there was the interest of making imaginaries work for including newcomers that could not only contribute with activating the space of exchange, but who could also add cultural variety to the context. Tourists in particular were regarded as adding to the potential of markets for hosting and offering cultural diversity. Thus, markets could be valued as touristic attractions and through the touristic lens, these could become more appealing to local consumers in turn.

For traders, these new customers were welcomed because of the improvements their presence implied – for instance in terms of better services that they were able to provide. Enrique, groceries trader at San Jose, shared his vision on a better market and how diversified the clientele could become:

“(...) being 54 years old, I would be accomplishing my dream seeing this market, in which I've worked for so many years... seeing it bigger, and that other type of people come to buy. It would be more comfortable, more secure, nicer... and all type of people would come here. Even tourists would come here (...) because they come to know the roots [of local products]” (Enrique, trader, San Jose Market)

At Mercado N.1, traders were highly receptive to tourists and were quite acquainted to their visits. Those in the front line received them with their well decorated stalls. They had learned how to show their products to an international audience and in parallel, they had also learned about different habits, tastes, and places that tourists talked about during their visits – as foreign markets. This knowledge led them to raise comparisons with their own

context. Even if largely finding better work and living conditions in those foreign environments they learned about, traders reaffirmed themselves on the resources and cultural values they were able to offer.

Tourism thus gained relevance at markets and traders started to regard themselves with more confidence as directly participating in that economic activity. Awareness on this was considerably higher at Mercado N.1. There was frequently a good number of tourists deciding to take a short walk from Miraflores, and there were also organised groups daily visiting the market. This awareness on tourism has encouraged traders' revaluation of the marketplace and renewed their visions on what can be achieved by making it a better place for food commerce and encounter:

"I don't have regular customers but there are people who pass by, consume, especially foreigners, and I'm proud to say I'm Peruvian (...) I don't know if the visit of foreigners has increased but I can see there are many and they admire the variety and beauty of fruits there are here, and there are not in other countries (...) If this is a place where people doing tourism are brought [on tours], people who come from different countries, I think they need to have a good impression, [changes are needed] for everything to look better and foreigners could get a good impression of the market (...)" (Gina, trader, Mercado N.1)

Even for customers, these visitors were regarded as providing opportunities for cultural exchanges, while also reaffirming their own cultural values during these exchanges. As Lucio, customer of this market, mentioned on his memories at this site:

"(...) a market is like a fair, where you can find people from different cultures, from other countries. They come and start to socialise with us, and we learn, and they learn, that's what makes the market cool I think." (Lucio, customer, Mercado N.1)

In contrast to the considerations shown for local differences, people often expressed more openness to foreigners and the different practices and preferences they may bring to these sites. In cities such as Madrid and Buenos Aires, touristic practices at markets have been linked with interventions

reinforcing the segregation of publics or the commercial gentrification of market areas (Hernández & Andreeva, 2016; Medina & Alvarez, 2009). These sorts of changes have not been reported for these cases, nor raised in the interests and perspectives of market users on these spaces.

Instead, it was positively raised the fact of making the local space and local resources valuable to international publics. These opinions, shared among diverse market users, pointed at shared notions and aspirations over markets, their expected roles and material set ups. Moreover, these arguments pointed at the recognition assigned to diverse market users and to their contributions towards shared resources (See Figure 5.11). These expressions over who reaches more visibility or impact on the market space also led me to reflections on how characteristics of the *Limeño* identity were ultimately renegotiated in the everyday realm (Cánepa, 2012). In this regard, Daniel, frequent ceviche diner at Alicia's, described aspects of recognition towards the diverse sociocultural backgrounds that were expressed through culinary practices at spaces open to urban publics such as markets:

"To me, in general, one of the things I've really liked about the Gastronomic Boom is this idea of openness... first of all, from an idea of recognition of the Peruvian among Peruvians, that's the first thing I liked." (Daniel, customer, San Jose Market)



Figure 5.11 Native products from the rainforest used in sauces and dishes at a new market restaurant. Mercado N.1. November, 2017

In that line, envisioning new times for markets invites to regard scenarios with new forms of recognition for the sociocultural differences encountered at markets, attached to users and spaces as well as to food related practices. In addition to markets' links with the gastronomic scene in Lima, there has been an increasing interest for food offers that are well-valued at traditional spaces for food provisioning - such as native and eco-friendly products (See Figure 5.12). For instance, customers as Antonio, from Mercado N.1, expressed that current times were bringing opportunities for revaluing markets as spaces where to exchange traditional knowledge, and to recognise traders in carrying such valuable information and resources. By setting this example, he referred to modern consumers looking for a turn to natural sources, and raised that markets naturally responded to this sort of specialised provisioning:

“(...) there is also a tendency towards the organic and anti-systemic that looks to go back to the roots. There are people who look for homeopathic medicine and people who look for organic food. These have become in vogue, and markets appear as good spots to find these. Even if many products are similar to those you can find in supermarkets, there is always a mystic around markets as something more organic, and this organic trend is in vogue. Even Wong (supermarket) has an organic day (...) markets don’t need this, they have this mystic, people think that products come directly from producers, or peasants, to the consumer, which is different in supermarkets. (...) I think that’s what makes [markets] survive, in spite of this trend of having everything together in one place for shopping.” (Antonio, customer, Mercado N.1)



Figure 5.12 Boards listing the variety of smoothies made with national fruits and their healing properties. San Jose Market. March, 2015

Moreover, new times and the arrival of food trends were regarded by traders and customers as raising commonalities such as shared sentiments and values around food, reshaping notions on who belongs or can take part in common activities and spaces. For Susana, sociologist and regular ceviche

diner at San Jose, the fact of Gaston Acurio's attending market spaces was a way of challenging social structures under which marketplaces and users could be assigned negative connotations of poverty and backwardness:

"I think it's positive because it has revealed that this experience of going to a market and buy is not synonym necessarily of 'oh you go to the market because you're poor', 'you go to the market because you have no money, why don't you go to a supermarket?'. It's not like that. I think that what Gaston has shown, what I highlight from him, it's the possibility that we can find in that space – I can tell you in more sociological terms – it's like a space of encounter (...) I also have my own critiques, as everything in life, but if I could see it in a more positive way, I think he has raised awareness on this and has made us, Peruvians, have less resistance and dilute these regrettable barriers that still exist in the country. It's pathetic to still see episodes of discrimination and racism (...)" (Susana, San Jose market, customer)

As promoted by gastronomic campaigns, and after these customers' reflections on traders and markets' perspectives, these open urban spaces encourage everyday encounters in diversity. From these, it is possible to engage with renegotiations in aspects of social fragmentation in everyday exchanges and experiences as those described around food. Nonetheless, challenging divisive meanings among market users is still an evolving process. Markets are not yet revived by an increased customer attendance and there are still everyday struggles for keeping up the sales for the majority of traders at both markets – not reflecting a substantial turn to traditional knowledge or the recognition of skills and valued diversity from these traditional markets. Despite constructions and relations of difference among market users, market activities invited diverse customers to the shared space, provided moments of co-presence and raised opportunities for acting in common and working for the recognition of those differences commingling.

5.3 Conclusions: market imaginaries and co creations on expressions of diversity in the common space

In this chapter, I addressed encounters around market imaginaries and questioned what these informed about the diverse collective of market users, despite the unequal visibility of social and cultural backgrounds participating in local spaces, as well as unequal relations of status implicit in the use of these spaces. Lima's social map is characterised by sociocultural differences that have not been equally assimilated in imaginaries of city living. Sociocultural expressions of urban agents' diversity can be encountered around shared resources and negotiations on their use and access. Exploring these expressions, mainly in material and oral elements around food, I could address imaginaries on market sites and identify divisions and aims on social status from which market users regarded each other and operated together. These manifestations of social differentiation were also involved in shaping market dynamics, with certain businesses concentrating large numbers of daily visitors, as in the case of popular *cevicherías*, while others remained less visited and to a certain extent, less visible. These aspects led me to identify 'labels' (Fincher, 2017) or assumed status that were assigned to the residents commingling at these markets.

Moreover, gastronomic expressions, such as those found in certain food offers and stalls, led me to expand on such contrasting dynamics and analyse unequal relations in these spaces. National gastro-politics campaigns have encouraged the commodification and consumption of cultural significances enmeshed in food. For these campaigns, in Peru as well as in other countries, it has been central the use of visible elements such as images, messages and practices exerting a sort of 'soft power' that influences imaginaries of the everyday life (Fan, 2013; Martigny, 2010). This way, promoters of gastronomic trends have become references of achievement for traders as well as references of improved social standings and economic progress among residents, influencing practices and associations around food consumption. In

the case of traders, being related to these trends implied a higher recognition of their businesses and their expertise. This means of recognition was used as a response to the conditions of deprivation and even segregation to which they were subject.

Traders' situation was regarded by customers, and even among peers, under strong associations to histories of migration to the capital city, to deprived socioeconomic trajectories and assumed limitations on education and expertise. They responded to these notions by visibly adapting their work conditions - as in food services and decoration, the use of uniforms or implementing decorated stalls. They aimed to demonstrate their specialisation, which meant they were counting on the capacities and knowledge required to move out of typical and negative market conditions, and thus, for becoming more noticeable among customers. Through aesthetic representations, they responded to gastronomic trends while also backed higher commercial values on their products. In the case of traders not following current food trends and not showing such aesthetic representations, I could observe different efforts for demonstrating their specialisation, attempting to share their expertise through enhanced services for traditional market offers. However, these enjoyed of less visibility and profitability. Despite the diverse outcomes, traders found ways in their everyday labours to reach sociocultural renegotiations. As observed in some of their stories, they were able to make the distinctive traits of their trajectories and experience to count as positives and appealing for experiences in common at marketplaces.

For the case of customers at these markets, I observed their encounters with market spaces through food choices and consumption practices. These worked as representations of their sociocultural and economic status, as well as defined their affiliations and status aspirations through consumption – for instance, from their affiliation to the gastronomic imaginary. This way, the food offer at each market allowed me to approach the predominant characteristics associated with the profiles of their main customers. The range of food products was defined, by traders and customers, as reflecting the socioeconomic standings of frequent and target customers. The selection of

gastronomic or everyday products then reflected also the 'selection' of customers expected to be encountered, defining those who are 'in the game' of markets or not (De La Pradelle, 2006). Despite the changing activities around revalued foodstuffs, food commerce and provisioning at these markets have not suffered of impacts to the extent of undergoing commercial gentrification, as examples of gastronomic markets in other cities portray (Hernández & Andreeva, 2016). Traders did not report being displaced by new vendors, nor customers being displaced by increasing prices. What mostly affected market activities has been the introduction of modern alternatives such as supermarkets that build on ideals of comfort, privacy and facilities for consumption to accommodate individual demands. In a way, these alternatives for modern living have displaced traditional retail markets.

By exploring visible contrasts at these shared spaces, and around food also as a shared resource, I could identify responses over social differences unequally recognised in the making of the city. The differentiated visibility of markets and market agents, in their different backgrounds and histories of social and economic consolidation in Lima, was translated in market imaginaries and in the everyday materialisation of these spaces (Scorer, 2016). In these markets, commonalities such as food interests facilitated the re-appropriation and adaptation of meanings on urban living from the 'rubbing along' of market users (Watson, 2009) around shared activities and values on food. These aspects point at possibilities to collectively create and challenge meanings and representations of social difference, from acknowledging social and cultural values both contained and producing material resources allowing for residents' being together in difference. In spite of the expressions of social difference at markets, everyday encounters still take place around food and around collective recreations on meanings and representations that imply negotiations over more equal recognition and inclusive access to the urban space.

6. Connections from exchanges and interactions in shared spaces

By 12.30pm, there was already a good number of people eating at this section. 'Jaladores' were calling customers and trying to convince anyone who passes by to sit at their market restaurant. "Hay de todo, casera, pregunte" [there's everything, casera, ask], I can hear this phrase while walking around the market, also next to the cevicherías.

Fieldnote San Jose Market 16/12/2014

This chapter focuses on encounters around market exchanges, questioning what these indicate about connections over weakened civic relatedness at markets. In that intention, I followed interactions among market users acknowledging that these forms of relating, even if transient, supported markets' roles in nurturing city life (Black, 2012). These interactions led me to observe there were more than commercial implications at stake. I identified the open relatedness that characterised daily exchanges among market users and identified social values that underlay the completion of successful transactions. These led me to acknowledge the relevance of these moments of commingling in opening possibilities for residents' connection with urban life. My discussions on these forms of civic connection follow those on previous chapters, where it was raised that marketplaces were characterised by divisions of private interests and distrust limiting governance collaborations among market users (See Sections 4.3). Likewise, this chapter follows arguments on market encounters as shaped by tensions from social differences not assimilated or recognised, which nonetheless take part in the shared space of commingling and shared imaginaries of diversity and unequal recognition among urban residents (See Section 5.3).

In this regard, I observed encounters under aspects of fragmentation deriving from urbanisation, private imperatives in urban living and threats to public relatedness among residents (Vega Centeno, 2013). Despite this context, markets in Lima still accomplish central roles for supplying purposes, as has been analysed from their prevalence and the large numbers in which these are found all over the city (INEI, 2016). Emblematic markets such as those in this study are located in central, dense and (infrastructurally) well-connected areas of the city. Likewise, markets, in general, remain accessible options for residents looking for traditional and diverse items, such as those popularised by food trends (See Section 1.2). By connecting residents through these various activities, markets contribute to enrich experiences of togetherness in the city, thus expanding the commercial values already attached to these spaces. These contributions to urban living also emerged from residents' accounts on their everyday experiences, despite the various sources of tension also experienced among the different individuals commingling. Then, marketplaces are addressed as sites in which city residents can connect with urban life through the moments of co-presence taking place along their use and access to these urban centres. Even through brief moments, exchanges and encounters contribute to recover the open and shared essence of these spaces.

Missing or avoided interactions

The first section of this chapter situates encounters around market exchanges (See Section 2.2.3). I addressed the missing or avoided interactions that characterised market users' activities and memories from market visits, which reflected residents' weakened connections with urban living. Despite the proximity in which traders and customers conducted exchanges, it was still expressed the little interest they had for relating among different or unknown others converging at these sites. Tensions over which urban relationships are established also emerged in these contexts. Moreover, these tensions were stressed by the increasingly reduced availability of spaces where residents can engage with others and with the city (Ministerio de Vivienda, Construcción y Saneamiento, 2016). Thus, the everyday at markets was observed as

configured by the urban context through political, economic and sociocultural systems impacting on encounters and exchanges at these particular locations.

In that sense, there are aspects around the experiences of commingling that are closely linked to urban development and private-led interventions in public spaces that affect their management and infrastructural maintenance (See Section 4.1.1); likewise, policies and projects defining the visibility and accessibility of resources for consumption impact on everyday commerce and on social exchanges that can take place around this activity (See Section 5.1.1). These aspects are then involved in the way people perform at marketplaces and in the way these places allow for coexistence and connections among strangers (Black, 2012; Steel, 2008). Along market operations and in the recreation of shared imaginaries on these sites, individuals' exchanges and interactions reflect negotiations over common interests – for instance, the access to food resources – and inform as well on ways of appropriating, using and experiencing the shared space.

Public interactions

The second section of this chapter explores negotiations over conflictive situations identified during market exchanges (See Section 2.3.3). I observed these negotiations as leading to interactions despite the weakened relatedness among market users. Furthermore, I observed these in the intention of finding forms of civic relatedness that could be encouraged in the everyday of urban living, on top of profit-making imperatives and social differences working against these sorts of connections among residents. In that intention, I followed interactions, or the absence of these, during encounters around stalls and around food. Thus, addressing these encounters, I firstly identified conflictive relations among traders and customers, for instance through missing collaborations and forms of differentiation that were raised in previous chapters.

Nonetheless, sociable approaches remained as distinctive traits of market experiences, allowing for the completion of commercial exchanges (Mele et al., 2014; Watson, 2009). Along with practices of food commerce and consumption, I observed how residents' experiences at markets were also shaped by possibilities of socialisation in these public grounds. In that regard, I analysed how these sites still function for connecting residents through their distinctive dynamics and atmospheres. Moreover, social relations of this sort, in shared urban spaces, could also be analysed as expanding the economic values that often sustain the preservation of these spaces (Foster & Iaione, 2016). Thus, I discussed interactions at marketplaces in the sense that these foster relations and connections among market users, through activities and resources held in common and moreover, through negotiated values such as trust and recognition, before raised as conflicting relations in the shared space.

Market stories

I start this chapter with a brief introduction to the commingling and socialisation around popular ceviche restaurants, or *cevicherías*. From interactions at these *cevicherías* as an entry point, I analysed the being together at markets from users' experiences of agreeable encounters or from opposite situations observed. The spatial configuration can bring people together but not necessarily under agreeable terms. Thus, I moved on to analyse encounters among traders and customers in moments of co presence and no interaction along commercial exchanges. I addressed traders and customers' narrations on how they regarded their relations with others - if based on trust among agents during commercial operations and openness to strangers, or under contrary principles. Across these observations in the field, food emerged as a resource facilitating interactions among market users (Steel, 2008). In that way, particularities of these spaces such as the accessibility and attractiveness of their offers, as well as the sociability and easy approach of traders, contributed to dissipate difficulties when encountering in situations of discomfort. Marketplaces appeared then as opening ways for relating among strangers and negotiating tensions from these encounters. Based on these explorations, I analysed possible connections among market users from

interactions and social values encouraging residents to encounter and act in common.

On the whole, by looking at sources of fragmentation in urban life, the purpose of this chapter is to address the social function of these spaces (Mele et al., 2014) in providing a shared ground for negotiations towards building civic relations and values that allow for positive experiences of coexistence. I envision these as leading to renewed engagements with urban living, and in that way, leading residents to encounter fruitful forms of being together in the city (Young, 1990).

6.1 Missing interactions during market exchanges

*“(...) there’s not much relationship, I haven’t developed links...
I’m the very elemental buyer, I’m the one who’s used to the
supermarket so my relationship there [market] is very similar to
the supermarket. I go, order, thank and leave. (...) [close
treatment from traders] makes me feel nice but in a way it
isn’t something I didn’t have before, it isn’t something I need, so
if you tell me it’s cheaper at Metro [supermarket], I will buy at
Metro.”*

(Ricardo, customer, San Jose Market)

Marketplaces have been recognised as typical spaces of encounter and interaction in cities, as noted on multiple accounts on marketplaces around the world (Guàrdia et al., 2010 in studies on Barcelona markets; Stillerman, 2006a, in the case of Santiago de Chile markets; Valderrama, 2016 for Peruvian markets). These spaces of food trading and consumption are hubs of small-scale productive activities, daily economic and social exchanges, cultural expressions and urban networks which constitute the day to day in the city. Moreover, in the case of municipal and emblematic markets, these connect important streets of the commercial hubs they are part of and remain central locations for the city, in terms of economic and political distributions (Watson & Studdert, 2006; Watson, 2009). Hence, markets can offer multiple activities to engage with diverse actors, as well as possibilities to regain urban ground over individualising pressures through their capacities to ‘irradiate’ social life, as Buie (1996) described them.

Facing everyday conflicts in dynamics of contemporary living, markets offer residents with possibilities to encounter and connect with urban life where it is increasingly lost. Through everyday exchanges, markets invite to develop relations of trust and recognition among traders and customers, in the intention

of completing successful and agreeable exchanges (Everts & Jackson, 2009; Mele et al. 2014). Nonetheless, the everyday at these spaces of social relatedness also reflects weakened connections among the diversity of users, which also threatens their collective use. As for Ricardo, market users I encountered at both markets expressed how they related with traders by responding to their characteristic sociable approaches, but described their experiences at markets as based only on their individual purposes. This way, market exchanges also led me to raise observations on residents' priorities in securing their use and access to the shared space - protecting their private spaces and benefits and differentiating who or what they preferred to relate to in their daily trajectories in the city.

6.1.1 Around *cevicherías*: being together and avoiding interactions

As is characteristic of a market, traders' voices inviting you to buy or eat at their stalls accompanied me while entering and moving around the site. At ceviche sections of both markets, the appearance of *jaladores* multiplied the voices heard. They were mostly young men and women calling customers with menus in hand and with the clear purpose of convincing you to order a meal at their restaurant. At San Jose market, one market gate in particular, where most of these *cevicherías* are concentrated, was full of *jaladores* welcoming market customers and competing against each other to take those potential diners to his or her stall (See Figure 6.1).



Figure 6.1 Market gate facing ceviche section at San Jose Market.
March, 2015

Around noon, *jaladores* were already calling the first diners with menus at hand. Stalls in the picture are contiguous *cevicherías*.

Frequent diners most likely went directly to their trusted *casero* for a trusted taste and quality, others relied on visible signs, such as the presentation of dishes or gastronomic brands at stalls, to recognise the best spot to have their meals. *Casero* or *casera* is a term used in marketplaces, expressing familiarity among traders and customers. A *casero* or *casera* is either the customer or the trader, and although this reciprocal term may imply to have a relationship built by selling or buying to the other person on a frequent basis, it is not necessarily the case. It applies from the first moment you enter a market, to approach a trader or the trader to invite you to his or her stall. It is perhaps the first 'rule' one learns when getting acquainted to these spaces and that which opens interactions among actors in both sides of the exchange.

Caseros also learned to accommodate their resources and activities within the market layout, with small and closely placed stalls, operating in connection to dynamics of nearby streets and visitors' movements through various open doors and market corridors. In many cases, the openness and flexibility of market layouts has been observed favouring spontaneous interactions (Watson & Studdert, 2006). However, underlying logics in markets' development – such as private appropriations and competitiveness – may work against those positive aspects for interaction. It may bring more confrontations during the commercial activities of traders, for instance when traders and *jaladores* trying to attract more customers to their stalls, or when blocking the working space of others. Likewise, for customers, it could be observed an avoidance of strangers during their activities, reflecting no interactions or not agreeable co-presence.

At both markets, even if customers were visiting for their interest on a product to consume, such as ceviche, they would likewise express their discomfort in commingling around that area. They raised their discomfort for not being able to keep their private spaces along the moments of exchange and consumption, being in a way forced to 'rub along' (Watson, 2009) and keep certain proximity to other market users or diners. For Andrés, a usual ceviche diner at San Jose, it was uncomfortable to have a meal at the market because there were others sitting and eating too close, and he got annoyed by the way they ate or spoke (Interview SJM-C5). For other customers, as Susana, if not finding an inviting space to stay for the meal, they would wait until the market restaurant were less crowded or would just leave the place, looking for an alternative option at the market or out of it, preferring to maintain the privacy of their activities (Interview SJM-C3). Others, as Tula, chose moments of the day and week for grocery shopping in order to avoid the annoyance of 'rubbing along' other users:

“At the market, you bump into people, there are bad smells, too many people... it's very small, the aisles. The circulation, it's like that... that's why I try to go early.” (Tula, customer, San Jose Market)

My observations on visits to San Jose market agreed with these expressions on the setting, which appeared to restrict people's possibilities for being together and for agreeable interactions. The overall distribution of this market had been planned in order to increase the number and area occupied by stalls, and without planning for the areas needed for customer circulation. Market corridors were narrow, and traders' merchandise occupied some extra space out of these. Popular stalls such as *cevicherías* appeared occupying and even blocking some parts of this market because of the number of people that gathered around these stalls. Apart of this well visited section, customers did not seem keen to wonder around the market or spend longer than needed for their supplying or consumption activities:

Fieldnote San Jose Market 18/12/2014

(...) it can get complicated to circulate in certain sectors, as around the main gate (...) Walking along the corridors of San Jose market, you would unavoidably bump into other customers. Disorder and noise can be easily felt, people try to eat fast – this mainly at cevicherías. At menus [market restaurants] and 'juguerías' [juice bars] people seem to take their time more easily, there are not that many people behind them waiting to be served. Rarely you see people interested in what others do, helping others or having casual interactions, even less having casual conversations. The close proximity to others and the restrictions of the space seem to invite people to buy and leave fast.

These aspects reflected how social relations developed in the shared space, for both groups, traders and customers. Market exchanges reflected the primacy of private interests, such as those expressed in regard to moments of competitiveness in the work space, and not desire to connect to different others through commensality, shopping or other activities at the sites. Then, exchange conditions did not secure the agreeable proximity for traders to develop their labours next to their colleagues, and for customers to carry on with exchanges in physical and collective settings they could feel comfortable in. In their narratives and practices, market users raised these various tensions from everyday exchanges at markets. An important restriction for more enjoyable experiences was the limited space to work and shop alongside, as

it was described by Andrés and others, which led to situations of discomfort when being together.

Nonetheless, given their prevalence and the high number in which traditional marketplaces are present in cities such as Lima, markets remain fulfilling important economic and social roles for city residents. In Lima as well as in the rest of the country, marketplaces remain core sites for food provisioning (FAO, 2016; INEI, 2016). These also sustain the livelihoods of large numbers of vendors and entrepreneurs who find labour possibilities beyond restrictive and unequal conditions in urban environments (Babb, 2008). Moreover, food trends, in their field of influence, have worked for inviting to cities' central areas where one can find the highest concentration of food services matching gastronomic perspectives. This is the case of restaurants, but also traditional markets and traditional street food alternatives. In this context, the commingling of diverse strangers at markets still takes place for what markets are trustworthy and sought for, which is the case of ceviche and *cevicherías*.

Taking the example of Lima and opportunities after the revaluation of culinary activities, it could be observed how the context has invited urban actors to engage with alternatives for enhancing spaces of food exchange. This could be observed in attempts for the recovery of markets, with no considerable progress yet, and the conversion of open areas for this use. For instance, there is an increasing number of street markets organised and managed by trader associations, social organisations supporting fair trade production, and also by promoters of the gastronomic boom (Higuchi, 2015). These markets occupy public areas – mainly streets and parks - for their activities, including those in the surroundings of emblematic markets without directly competing with their traditional offer. These 'alternative' markets can raise evidence on how these encourage residents' encounter and commingling (De La Pradelle, 1995; Watson & Studdert, 2006) despite taking place under infrastructures and locations not necessarily privileging the commingling and mixing in public.

Encounters around food stalls - under the open and colloquial call of traders or from the casual encounter of customers with similar food preferences (Valderrama, 2016) - opens possibilities for easy and spontaneous interactions among strangers, from different backgrounds and different affiliations. In this context, spaces of the public realm such as marketplaces prevail as spaces articulating fragmented aspects on modern urban living. Moreover, these accomplish such functions in central locations in the city, where there is already an intense and diverse flux of residents and where economic activities may be likewise intense, but where the commingling may still raise urban divisions framing such encounters (Vega Centeno, 2017).

6.1.2 Privatised spaces and imaginaries of disconnection from urban living

Reflecting on management challenges at both case studies, I could identify how these have grown internally according to individual entrepreneurs trying to make the most of their private possibilities for commerce (See Section 4.2.3). Traders have not reached common visions on fairer ways to compete among them and with businesses such as supermarkets, commercial alternatives offering the control, security and privacy of exchanges aimed by modern consumers (Steel, 2008). Narrow corridors and expanded stalls reflect this situation, gaining space for commerce and reducing that for social exchanges. Looking at markets as local economic centres, I learned about how small and growing ventures had been subject to regulations not favouring a fair competence in the free market against large companies or against multiple small competitors, such as their colleagues.

Looking to consolidate their ventures, many entrepreneurs have opted for informal or illegal practices, as in the appropriation of stalls or not compliance to tax systems. This environment of free competition but weak protections to independent and small-scale sources of profit has also led to frequent acts of delinquency and criminality, as Roberts and Portes (2006) reported for Lima and other Latin American capital cities. These represented risks to which

traders and customers were exposed in that local scene lacking adequate regulations for public activities and services, and lacking engagements to strengthen their management. Moreover, regulations encouraging the privatisation of markets and the rise of enclosed spaces of commerce have also led to confine markets in time and reduce spaces for these shared operations and interactions.

In the same way, market-led policies and private interventions on public spaces and services have worked against marketplaces' qualities of small-scale economic and civic centres, functioning intrinsically connected to their surroundings through commercial and sociocultural practices (Cabrera et al., 2006). By attempting to enclose and privatise public areas of political control and economic interest, municipalities have taken away street vendors and largely disfavoured commercial activities taking place in market areas and connected streets, despite the social activity and other added values these may raise for residents and market users (Roever, 2005).

The increasing privatisation of urban spaces and individualised uses over common spaces stress tensions in urban life by restricting residents' capacities to engage with quotidian and open interactions (Vega Centeno, 2013). This is the case of expanding areas for vehicles, the congestion these produce in addition to the reduction of pedestrian ways of access to markets (See Figure 6.2), and the appearance of enclosed centres of commerce in nearby locations, such as malls and big supermarkets, reinforcing customers' preferred privacy of exchanges. At these central areas, the high availability of other supplying options and accessibility restrictions of the urbanised setting have actually worked against markets as thriving centres. These challenges have driven markets to the neglected situation in which these sites are often found, losing the relevance these once had for Lima.



Photo taken by Katty Marquez.

Figure 6.2 Exterior of Mercado N.1. April, 2015

The market building is enclosed by streets of intense vehicle circulation and infrastructural developments. However, residents' circulation and commerce in surroundings reflect how the market is connected to economic and social activities out of the site.

There were years in which markets were vibrant centres of social and economic activities. Nowadays, particularly those in central locations and emblematic for the city are in decline (Valderrama, 2016). Urbanisation forces have worked against the prevalence of spaces for public life and encouraged private appropriations and uses, following Westernised ideals of urban modernity. Markets have not been exempted to these forces. For instance, Gonzalez and Waley (2013) reported cases of plans for markets' displacement by real estate interests for London and Leeds. Hence, along activities of commerce and consumption, everyday operations at markets reflected the pressures of urban changes in the surroundings. Now there are also other private centres around which residents operate and undertake the activities that were mainly conferred to marketplaces (See Section 4.1.2).

Moreover, market users experience social fragmentations from the broader urban context. Often this is reflected in the differentiated recognition and openness to relate to other market users, traders and customers, during market experiences. This is expressed through representations of social systems of status and individualisation of practices in everyday urban living (See Section 5.1.2). Traders and customers did not regularly refer to expressions of discrimination or segregation at markets, however, if asking further on these particular aspects, interviewees from both sites shared occasions in which they had witnessed or taken part in situations of mistreatment, particularly towards traders. Nonetheless, those expressions or attitudes were identified in the day-to-day in the city, in its inequalities and hierarchies in local social systems, and not as particular aspects of the market atmosphere:

“I’ve seen people who are despot when asking for things [to traders] (...) you see that everywhere, not only here.” (Lucio, customer, Mercado N.1)

Public spaces host these sorts of manifestations and markets were not an exemption. In my field visits, I did not witness discriminatory dialogues, although the possibility of this happening was raised by traders and customers, as Lucio. Forms of differentiation became more explicit in the way exchanges were undertaken, in fast paced and non-relational moments among strangers, as well as in the uses and functions attached to these markets in time. The being together may result in negative experiences of commingling when experiences at markets are associated with discomfort and avoided co-presence (See Figure 6.3).



Figure 6.3 Restaurants serving *menus* (set menus of typical dishes) at San Jose Market. April, 2015

Diners had limited spaces to have their meals and had to accommodate next to other market visitors, also looking for room to circulate.

These aspects may lead to reinforcing negative constructions on these places, such as meanings linked to mismanagement and poverty of public and open spaces (Vega Centeno, 2013), and social divisions among residents using these. The intensity of work and disagreement in interests, while securing individual gains, added up to this situation. Not only as suppliers, but as social and civic spaces, markets in Lima have lost the relevance they had when founded (Tello & Narrea, 2014). It has delimited open spaces of this sort as well as their public services, not only in their roles for provisioning but also for encounter and openness for civic negotiations.

6.1.3 Competitiveness and sociocultural differences vs Trust and recognition: shaping social exchanges and interactions

Limitations of market spaces to work and shop could be identified from stepping into the buildings. Stalls at Mercado N.1 appeared in highly contrasting sizes, with varied displays of products piled up according to the possibilities of the stalls or invading corridors as extensions of the trading space, distributed without a clear logic among commercial activities and types of offer. Likewise, at San Jose, stalls were unequally distributed along corridors of uneven length and width, denoting a certain improvisation in the setting up of the site. These markets have evolved without concerted planning efforts or collaborations in overcoming spatial restrictions for exchanges.

Traders generally acknowledged that improving market operations required collectively adopting changes in order to respond to current customers' demands, as in their demands for comfort and provisioning according to food trends (See Section 5.2.3). Likewise, it was raised the need to adapt to the commercial dynamism of the correspondent urban areas, which exerted pressures over their activities. Nearby areas hosted direct competitors, such as supermarkets, or limited their operations by enclosing markets in increasingly busy streets, full of cars and less pedestrian access, and also less secure surroundings not controlled by public administrations (Cabrera et al., 2006; Protzel de Amat, 2011). However, to change this situation, traders' dissimilar views prevailed over changes for their common benefit. This situation led to weakened relations among colleagues (See Section 4.2.3). Then, what characterised dynamics along market corridors were traders daily competing next to each other for securing their sales and having very few interactions as fellows.

Daily and unavoidable encounters in the workspace have made them acquainted to each other, as well as aware of their different views and practices in working and living. Based on these considerations, almost all traders I interviewed mentioned not being interested in relating further, not being comfortable with or even distrusting their neighbours:

“[relating with traders] it’s just for work (...) as in every job, there are some with whom you don’t get along well, but with most of them I do. We treat each other with a lot of respect, cordiality, with some more than with others, with some people you don’t have that good chemistry (...) every day I come to do my job well, if the other doesn’t like it, it’s not my problem (...) I think there could be more interaction, more companionship, but as I told you, the business and job are limiting this (...) when I have to sell, I’m a warrior, I don’t believe in anyone but it doesn’t mean that I hate you, that’s what I mean.” (Mariela, trader, Mercado N.1)

These forms of relating explained how reaching agreements and developing trust among traders have been major constraints to overcome market restrictions, yet the most important aspects regarded by traders as holding up the needed improvements.

The contrasting dynamism of markets could be likewise observed influencing these places’ atmospheres. As Sandra, trader at Mercado N.1, remembered about this market, *“there used to be more people, it was happier”* (Interview MN1-T3). The market set up did not only lead to situations of discomfort among market users, but also discouraged people from continuing shopping at marketplaces, and even from entering the sites. Customers have increasingly opted for private options of provisioning and consumption that ensured individualised practices and the avoided interaction with strangers they may not trust or feel related to (Díaz-Albertini, 2016).

That reduced attendance and avoided relatedness among market users also pointed at the differentiated stances in which these actors regarded their participation in these shared spaces. For instance, although explicit expressions of discrimination were often absent among traders and customers, other forms of segregation could be identified in these places. As Seligmann (2015) noted for the central market in Cusco, racist episodes could occur during open dialogues but also during interactions hiding less visible forms of differentiation. Certain ways of performing, such as the limited time spent at markets and the avoided moments of commingling, could be

expressing divisions among market users without necessarily applying linguistic terms that could be openly punished (See Figure 6.4).



Figure 6.4 Less busy stalls and individual exchanges at Mercado N.1.
March, 2015

Social divisions could be raised from the different status attached to traders and customers and which defined certain positionalities among market users during exchanges (See Section 5.1.2). The ways traders were approached reflected how they were regarded as a homogenous collective (Young, 1990), experiencing strong deprivations and the not recognition of their diverse social and economic trajectories. Moreover, when asking for descriptions of regular market visitors, traders and customers raised notions on status and social divisions that were also present in daily exchanges. Erick, for instance, described profiles of main customers at Mercado N.1 in terms of their status and assumed attitudes during the commercial exchange:

“[Main customers are] first of all, a ‘pituco’ [high-income person], with sunglasses, looking very cool, with the cell phone in his hand, talking, there are few but there are [here]. Then there is the ‘quite’ one, ‘ma’am, how much is the kilo? How much do I owe you? Goodbye, thank you’. That’s another type of client, he’s not ‘pituco’, although he might have a high [economic] position (...) then there’s another type who addresses ‘caseros’ [traders] informally, ‘hey caserita, how much is this?’, and that’s it, nothing else. And then the ones like me, the annoying ones (...) you go, chat, argue, but everything within normal limits, nothing special, no arguments.” (Erick, customer, Mercado N.1)

Hence, there were more than economic exchanges taking place at these spaces (De La Pradelle, 2006). Social values as trust or distrust among caseros, as well as recognition or not of both actors in their diversity, made the market environment distinctive and everyday negotiations on these bring about reflections on potential engagements and contributions to sustain it as a common space. Moreover, from direct interactions during exchanges, it was possible to identify how social practices and material settings were involved in developing relations under these values at markets (Everts & Jackson, 2009; Mele et al., 2014).

Likewise, the centralisation of economic activities and services in Lima, as in other capital cities, may stress divisions and inequalities among residents, but it also compels residents to gather around spaces densely used and populated (Díaz-Albertini, 2016). Spaces of public access in Central Lima offer possibilities for being together under the mediation of shared resources and symbolic expressions among residents of different avenues converging in this area, bringing preparations, commercial transactions and the ongoing assimilation of culinary experiences (Vega Centeno, 2013). This way, the intersection of residents from different avenues in central areas has also contributed to maintain a convergence of symbolic and material expressions, as those from culinary activities, representing that diversity in open spaces such as markets. Acknowledging the confluence of these aspects, I move on to explore negotiations from interactions around exchanges at stalls and around food practices bringing residents together at these markets.

6.2 Public interactions during market exchanges

“Who do you talk to at the supermarket? You go and grab a product and go to the cashier to pay. However, at the market you interact with people, want it or not, the girl is asking you what you want, for what.

There's always relatedness (...) with frequent visits, you will build a relationship with that person, you will talk, she will tell you 'ma'am, I haven't seen you, have you been sick? What happened? (...) That's why there are people who love to buy at markets. I've bought at a market all my life, when big stores appeared, I started to go there but I've never left it.”

(Erika, customer, Mercado N.1)

Traders' approaches during commercial exchanges, for instance when inviting people and serving them at their stalls, were characterised by sociable manners of familiarity and care. In that way, commercial exchanges opened moments of interaction that, for market users as Erika, were valuable assets, beyond spatial restrictions or differentiated social stances. Nora, another frequent customer at Mercado N.1, also recognised this sociability characterised market traders. Sociability is in fact at the essence of market exchanges, given it facilitates interpersonal encounters, in spite of the particular divisions experienced at local urban contexts (De La Pradelle, 2006). Then, this invitation to exchange was what one expected when visiting the marketplace:

“actually, this is closer to the idea of the one who sells at the market, the casero or casera at the market, saying hi or telling you things such as 'mamita' or 'papito', if you're a guy. (...) 'reinita [little queen], how are you? You're back, what are you buying today? So well, I like that.”
(Nora, customer, Mercado N.1)

Traders and customers at these sites were acquainted with the language and attitudes implied on the sale and knew these were part of the 'performance' at the market. Generally, there was a tacit agreement on these manners and on favourably responding to the sociable treatment, particularly in the intention of carrying out a satisfying commercial transaction. Then, the possibility to interact at marketplaces invited individual agents to adopt responses contributing to develop connections or to experience sources of tension out of these moments of exchange and relatedness.

6.2.1 Interactions during commercial exchanges: building trust among *caseros*

Although some traders were considered to be pushy or invasive when calling buyers to their stalls, and others regarded being too focused on the sales, their close treatment was generally considered a sign of providing a good and caring service:

"It's a market, right? So in every stall, everyone calls you, they want to treat you well. There's always the 'casero, come, buy here... ceviche is pretty cheap, it's fresh, come, take a sit'. They treat you well, a bit invasive the treatment, but they treat you well (...) try to be affective, friendly. (...) there's the funny treatment of 'casera, casero, how are you?', 'a cevichito?'... it's a bit more sociable, not just 'give me a ceviche', pay the bill and that's it." (Andrés, customer, San Jose Market)

Sociable approaches to customers were then ways in which traders showed they were trustworthy agents with whom it was possible to establish commercial relations and interact with. In spite of customers increasing moves to private sources of food provisioning, customers at Mercado N.1 and San Jose expressed they still relied on these markets for known and trusted items, under the already known conditions in their settings.

Daniel, frequent customer in both markets, raised these observations. For him, people went to these sites for what they have always looked for, what is

characteristic and memorable, such as typical products and dishes, and because of the convenient proximity of these locations for quotidian consumption (Interview SJM-C4). For Luis, worker at San Jose, it is by being loyal to work, while being attentive and caring in what they do, that they aim to encourage customers to return to their stalls (Interview SJM-T7). Likewise, Sandra, old trader at Mercado N.1, expressed similar views on her commercial relations with frequent customers:

“There are clients whom I serve every day, and they trust. They only make an order and I send it. And they don’t distrust that I stole in weight, or that I’m charging too much, no. [For instance] He just makes an order and I send it, and he’s satisfied. I have those clients.” (Sandra, trader, Mercado N.1)

Not all customers described their visits to markets as linked to particular relationships with *caseros* (See Section 6.1.1), others mentioned markets were not their first or main options when shopping for food. However, most customers interviewed acknowledged that traders’ approaches allowed them to get acquainted among market agents, and from this, they could build a sense of trust and reliability on their work and their offer:

“Caseros are supposed to provide that ‘quality certificate’ [on products], because customers assume ‘caseros’ give you what you ask for, how you want it (...) There are always negotiations at the market, they always give you a little bit more. They gain your loyalty. In Metro [supermarket] they will never give you a little bit more of anything.” (Daniel, customer, San Jose Market)

Then, customers regarded traders as trustworthy in securing fair exchange conditions and providing that ‘quality certificate’ on their products and services. Traders’ sociability could then be observed as facilitating interactions that enhanced the appeal of these places of urban life (Black, 2012; Steel, 2008), as well as led to the negotiation of shared uses and values over market resources. Moreover, trust in traders and in their offer was a core principle to build. Thus, in spite of the weakened relations among market users, these

were still characterised by traders' sociability in their desire to secure the continuation of their commercial relations (Black, 2012).

Customers in these case studies referred to the attentive treatment received from traders and mostly recalled these interactions in commercial terms (Interview MN1-C4; SJM-C6). They expressed that responding to traders' attentions by relating to them, even through brief but kind interactions, was the form to secure good exchange conditions. However, customers limited their exchanges to their specific interests, following their modern preferences on consumption, while prevailing their disconnection to these urban spaces and to the subjects encountered. For instance, identifying a trader as trustworthy and attentive did not necessarily make the place pleasing enough to repeat a visit, or invite the customer to challenge assumptions on traders' specialisation:

"It's not that I go to one stall necessarily, I know the people but if I see them busy, I will go to another place and I will buy there. (...) also because when I go, I'm in a hurry and want to leave fast (...) But they are all kind, they serve me fast. (...) there's a lady who sells fruits there and I think she's nice, because she smiles at me a lot and makes jokes, so I can even joke with her, but she's the only one I can remember [to recognise and return to]." (Rita, customer, Mercado N.1)

In that way, customers' links and affinities with traders and markets were mostly described as based on the economic convenience of the sites, as well as on how adjusted were the exchange conditions to their lifestyles, often described as busy, fast paced, and incompatible with public and popular places such as markets. From interactions at these cases, it was possible to analyse markets as remaining vibrant centres, hosting a variety of encounters among customers. However, from market users' interactions and relations, it was also possible to identify aspects undermining markets' commercial success and civic roles, mainly because of private interests and segregated uses over these shared spaces.

To a large extent, trust towards traders was affected by the awareness of a lack of transparency in transactions, for instance by charging higher prices or weighing incorrectly on purpose, as well as the awareness of 'bad' trading practices of some, mostly related to inadequate procedures in food handling. Regarding the lack of transparency in transactions, these could be clarified as not purposely done, given the speed and multiple tasks traders carried out while serving customers. However, these mistakes raised suspicions on traders taking advantage of the circumstances for their profit. In my first field visits, I had a related experience. In that occasion, I noticed a wrong calculation in price and asked to correct it. My lack of reliability in the commercial exchange was based on what I had observed from other customers' attitudes, attentive to follow how they were served and asking to confirm how much they were being charged. Becoming related to a *casero* could avoid these moments of distrust. That brief interaction made me realise the tensions that could also emerge, in spite of the sociability, and which could discourage people to return to that stall:

Fieldnote San Jose Market 18/12/2014

I approached Carla's stall to buy fruit but she was busy in that moment. I asked the owner of the stall for the product, but I had the impression she didn't give me a good product, so I asked her to change it. She did that, weighed it quickly and passed it to Carla. I had the impression there was something weird and I asked them to weigh it again, then I realised that they were making a bad calculation and applying a higher cost to the product.

Regarding food delivery procedures, these were evaluated in relation to those of supermarkets, given these were regarded as offering a better set of infrastructural displays for preserving food quality, besides of the aforementioned comfort and privacy for exchanges (See Figure 6.5). The limiting maintenance conditions in which food was handled at markets raised suspicions on the expected quality to be delivered. Customers such as Daniel, *casero* at San Jose, preferred not to buy certain products at markets in order to avoid the risk of diseases (Interview SJM-C4). For these customers, traders *caseros* could be trustworthy subjects but that did not imply that all of them were able to secure desired conditions, as those linked to health, nor that they

had the knowledge or capacities to improve in those aspects (See Section 5.1.2). Susana, frequent customer at San Jose, also highlighted that these inadequate cleaning conditions in food handling “generate distrust” (See Section 4.2.4).



Figure 6.5 Customers choosing products from their *caseros*' stalls at Mercado N.1.
March, 2015

The competitive environment and individual visions over their work in the shared space brought about frequent confrontations and distrust among traders. In the same way, diverse social and cultural backgrounds implied diverse work and living practices while being together, which raised divisions from the way different individuals experienced the workspace. In my conversations with traders, they often expressed their disinterest in companionship, the little interactions they had with their colleagues and their little willingness to change this situation, even if sharing the workspace most hours of the day.

“I’m not very related to the ladies here [next to her stall] but I know most people [at San Jose]. When I go near the [prepared] food stalls, they ask me ‘gatita [kitten - her nickname], how are you?’, they start a conversation. To me, it’s like a family, a second family. I spend more than half of the day here. (...) That’s why, once I told these ‘cholos’ [pejorative, related to race – in reference to other traders] ‘Here, we’re like a family’, and he [trader] said ‘what?’, and the lady next to me said ‘wait, ma’am, we’re colleagues, not a family’. So I said ‘am I going to fight with this lady? I better stay quiet’ (...) They say they have an education, but I see they are very ignorant, or maybe they are very close-minded, or very ‘serranos’ [pejorative, related to race].” (Ines, trader, San Jose Market)

As for Ines, negative ways of regarding traders working closely, or disagreements emerging from everyday labours characterised traders’ narratives on relationships with their colleagues. Nonetheless, their market experiences were likewise accompanied by positive relationships developed with fellows they had the chance to spend more time with, sharing more openly and more continuously everyday situations – and mainly, not directly competing in their commercial interests.

Trust has been acknowledged in sustaining the uniqueness of market exchanges (Everts & Jackson, 2009; Mele et al., 2014). This value sustains exchanges despite the absence of interpersonal relations in privatised and enclosed urban sites. Nonetheless, out of the moments of relatedness during commercial exchanges with customers, or during experiences of labour among traders, moments of co-presence were not characterised by the same sociability before described. I move on to describe these observations.

6.2.2 No interactions without exchanges: distrust among strangers at markets

Traders did not show the same attentiveness and may distrust unknown individuals not completing any purchase or lingering around markets longer than customers' usual brief visits. Saving compliments and treats to strangers was understandable out of the regular dynamics of transactions. But I could only explain the sense of distrust on strangers not buying by the fact that traders found they could represent possible threats to their activities. I could experience this distrust at both markets when starting my visits, although in each site for different reasons.

At San Jose market, traders were very protective of their businesses because as owners of their stalls and of the market, they were aware of investors interested in the land, offering them unfair deals - to the view of many - to buy or renovate the market (See Section 4.2.3). Hence, they had unwelcoming attitudes to those who may look suspiciously visiting for this reason. Likewise, they preferred to keep away visitors who could be surveying their activities, such as municipal or police agents. Being someone new and interested in getting acquainted to traders, I was first taken as coming from one of these sides:

Fieldnote – after visits to both markets 09/02/2015]

[When starting fieldwork] There were some [traders] who were curious about what I was doing and starting a conversation, they got interested in my story. For others, who had imagined that my work was not study-related, I had a different reaction. At San Jose market, those who had imagined I was part of a marketing company, learning that I was a student made them less 'fearful' of my presence there, although not necessarily more open to talk to me. For those who thought I was there for regulatory or monitoring purposes, representing a public institution for instance, reaction was the same (...)

Since a marketing study had been recently undertaken by request of the board, in an attempt for the market's renovation, I was often confused as part of this team. Others took me for a monitoring agent from a public office. These were

assumptions I could soon realise and thus had to repeatedly clarify my research purposes, given the strong mistrust raised from these reasons. Traders' protection of their businesses became explicit when I tried to collect some photographs in my first visit. A security guard appeared and told me it was forbidden (See Figure 6.6). When asking for more explanations, he told me the board had agreed on this regulation, and that traders were already asking who I was and the purpose of those photos. According to market guards, in following casual conversations, traders were also wary of unknown people observing their activities since they could take information on their routines and be exposed to robberies or assaults.



Figure 6.6 Security guard approaching me when taking a picture in my first visit to San Jose Market. May, 2014

At Mercado N.1, there were different aspects on strangers that raised traders' suspicions. After the public exposure received from gastronomic initiatives, there was definitely more openness from traders to new people lingering

around the market. For instance, I was first taken as a tourist or a journalist - regular profiles of newcomers arriving after the Gastronomic Boom publicity. Both visitors' profiles were of interest to traders given that activities of these groups represented possibilities to enhance the visibility of their work and the market (See Section 5.2.3). However, approaching traders to learn about their everyday labours could raise their distrust. It could be that they wanted the recognition of their social mobility through their labour, but information on their economic progress was something risky to comment on. Being involved in a competitive environment, they were protective of their business and economic gains, thus they were wary on what others could be observing or learning from their work. Even if my conversations did not lead to that field, there were those who found my presence risky in that sense:

Fieldnote Mercado N.1 04/04/15

I was going to interview Julia and arrived that morning to her stall. Her mom told me to wait for her and was kind to me, she didn't ask me about anything in particular. However, at the end of the interview, Julia told me her mom asked her about me, showing some distrust on my real interest, and prevented her to be careful in case I asked her about her income. Julia laughed about her mom's suspicion on me, but I realised there were reasons for such distrust on people's queries.

In general, without the mediation of commerce as a common activity, and trust as a common value for concreting the transactions, openness to relate and interact while being together at these sites was still challenging. In that sense, fragmentations from the political economy and social systems, introducing meanings of differentiation among residents, appeared highly defining these experiences of absent interactions and disconnections.

In that way, social values, negotiated from interpersonal encounters at these spaces, can be found as contributing to the continuation of commercial activities at marketplaces, for customers as well as for traders (Mele et al., 2014, Watson, 2009). From what could be observed in these cases, interactions raise the potentials of common spaces for developing productive and reliable economic activities from the social relations that take place (Foster & Iaione, 2016). Moreover, through these encounters along commercial

exchanges, market users confront and challenge notions on residents that otherwise, they would not openly interact with (Valentine, 2008). In that way, meanings and learnings from urban agents develop from that 'series of intimate daily interactions' at markets (Black, 2012).

6.2.3 Recognising strangers around food

The commercial exchange appeared as enabling to connect or establish relationships among *caseros*. Beyond the possibility to concrete the exchange between trader and customer, markets appeared less as places of agreeable encounters and interactions, and instead, as a continuation of anonymous individual performances, and even occasional dis-encounters among market users. As in the case of traders, in customers' commingling there was an absent willingness to relate in that common ground. When asking customers if they remembered having any sort of interaction with other customers at markets, they agreed there were no opportunities or interest, unless there was a previous acquaintance.

For many of them, these moments of co-presence took place in a sort of forced proximity, waiting to be served or less likely, when moving around, observing and choosing products from stalls. As Erick, frequent customer at Mercado N.1, mentioned:

"[interaction with clients] no nothing, no one (...) no one interacts (...) I think it's general or almost general. People go on their own and that's it (...) Maybe they ask: 'where do they sell meat, sir?', 'over there' and that's it." (Erick, customer, Mercado N.1)

According to their account on brief encounters while buying at a stall or bumping into others at corridors, customers did not seem to have any interest in opening their private practices into more public exchanges, avoiding as well relating to diverse and even not trustworthy strangers. Weak relations of this sort characterise urban life in contemporary social environments (Amin, 2006).

Nonetheless, the openness to relate and interact in spite of differences could be negotiated in that co-presence.

By hosting public life, markets bring people together (Buie, 1996). Although momentarily, individuals share activities such as commercial exchanges taking place simultaneously, their movements along corridors, and situational interactions in which preferences, practices and life stories are likewise shared. Moreover, using elements in place – products, sounds, images, smells – individuals recreate notions about the urban setting. Then, in these quotidian practices and encounters, residents recognise others along exchanges of affinities or dislikes, openness or lack of it to what surrounds them. This happens in particular with the mediation of a resource of common interest, as it is food (See Figure 6.7).



Figure 6.7 Customers' individual exchanges in food commerce at San Jose Market.
February, 2015

For instance, people at or passing by *cevicherías* or other busy areas were, in a way, forced to rub along a diversity of residents with shared food preferences, and although it did not imply having further exchanges, it made people aware of particular tastes, practices and features that characterised other residents at the market space. Traders and customers interviewed described a diversity of backgrounds and lifestyles at marketplaces (See Section 5.2.5). The moments of co-presence led them to identify the varied urban collective present at these sites (Watson, 2009). Moreover, food emerged effectively connecting people beyond infrastructural and commercial factors, through the sociocultural information carried on products, dishes and practices (Barthes, 1961 in Counihan & Van Esterik, 1997). Beyond information about foodstuffs, people learned about the different urban lives they encountered among traders and customers. In that sense, this materiality allowed for commonalities to emerge, and thus, facilitated recognition and relatedness among diverse individuals.

In that way, food likewise proved to importantly contribute to relatedness at marketplaces (Steel, 2008). In those brief moments at stalls, regards, gestures and short dialogues beyond the acts of shopping or consuming were continuously taking place. Daniel, regular diner at San Jose, referred to food as a mediator in people's relations and even facilitator of enjoyable moments among acquaintances and strangers:

"(...) food is what opens up people the most. When you want to set a deal for example, what do you do? You invite someone to eat, and people are happy, and when they're happy it's easier for them to interact." (Daniel, customer, San Jose Market)

Recognising this mediating role, Erika, regular customer of fresh products at Mercado N.1, remembered exchanging ideas or recipes about food at her *caseros'* stalls. She considered it a topic of general interest and thus, a point of convergence for any local resident:

"It's because of the topic. In food there's no race or anything, about food everyone wants to know." (Erika, customer, Mercado N.1)

Physical encounters and moments of co-presence, mediated by resources of longstanding commonality among urban residents, can lead then to recognise and learn about diverse urban lives on top of existing social divisions. Protecting their private ventures and livelihoods were some reasons that would not make traders keen to relate to strangers at the market, and without the facilitation of sociable exchanges, openness to relate among market users and visitors was also quite restricted. Nonetheless, the continuity of encounters in the open space was a way to foster familiarisation among market users and thus, to recognise their diverse purposes, affinities and trajectories.

6.2.4 Negotiating connections among recognised *caseros*

Attentions put into approaching customers were ways of building relations with them, securing and potentially increasing their sales. Traders considered these sociable approaches gave markets exchanges certain advantage when evaluating them in relation to strong and close competitors such as supermarkets. Thus, in addition to the quality and variety of products, traders identified the treatment provided to customers as a central aspect for the completion and continuity of market exchanges:

“Interaction is what many people like. They go to the supermarket, for example a young lady who wants to prepare dinner for her boyfriend, who will she ask to? (...) [however] some people don’t come back because they are not treated well, because there are also some people [traders] who have bad temper... I think it’s mostly because of that.”
(Mariela, trader, Mercado N.1)

Moreover, from interactions with customers, traders learned about their demands, beyond material products, and how to better address what they looked for (Valderrama, 2016). In turn, interactions showed customers they could find receptiveness to their needs and find exchange conditions that were inviting for future visits. Mariela raised related reflections on her work at Mercado N.1:

“People think it’s just about opening your business and then everybody comes. But it’s not like that, it’s how you treat the client (...). Sometimes the client comes in a bad mood, or worried because of many things that happen to him/her, so if you arrive to a place where you’re appreciated, where you receive a smile, you’re given what you need, that’s what makes him a frequent client. Because I don’t want him to come and buy just once, I want this client to stay for many years, being constant (...)”
(Mariela, trader, Mercado N.1)

Reflecting on their interactions with customers, traders also highlighted what they were able to learn from their *caseros*. In addition to what could be provided for better services, they recognised that through market interactions they found out about other people’s ways of living the city, encouraging them to renovate interests and relations with their social context. Mariela, trader from Mercado N.1, remembered a *casera* whom, through exchanged experiences and views on personal growth, invited her to rethink how she faced situations of mistreatment and social differentiation:

“I have a client who’s a painter, and she used to tell me ‘read this book, read this other book’, ‘sure, I will read it’ I told her (...) Then I looked for her on the internet, by her name, and I was surprised that she had participated in an NGO in Africa, she’s here and there, she’s all over the world. And I was like ‘oh!’, she didn’t look like (...) she looked like a very simple woman but very smart. As she used to tell me ‘what is important is that you read, and that you know when the right moment for you is to let it [responses] out’. Because as I told you there are customers who come here as if they were [expression of arrogance], and then you respond, and you change their mindset, then the situation becomes more balanced.” (Mariela, trader, Mercado N.1)

In that way, on top of any situation of not reliability and not relatedness, traders often mentioned how much they valued the relationships they were able to develop with their *caseros*. This was not only for the commercial interest, but also for the interact with subjects from varied backgrounds and life histories. For instance, the continuity of interactions made Ines, trader at San Jose market, identify she had developed close ties with certain colleagues, to whom she felt like family, as well as close ties with certain frequent customers to whom she referred with the same affection:

“I feel my caseras care about me because I’ve known how to care about them, to me they’re family.” (Ines, trader, San Jose Market)

Because of these considerations, traders valued customers responding with openness to relate and learn from their work in return. Either brief or lasting relationships with customers contributed to the consolidation of their businesses, as well as to the recognition of their work and roles in the making of those urban spaces (See Figure 6.8). Sandra, trader at Mercado N.1 expressed there were customers responding with gestures of trust, but there were others who did not conduct exchanges under the same principles:

“(…) relationships with my customers are mostly good, I get along well. Sometimes there are customers who ask you for a favour [to sell on credit] and you have to give them, because it’s your customer. But there are people who also take advantage of your trust and if you give them on credit, they don’t come back to pay, they go to another market, they don’t come back. There are people like that as well.” (Sandra, trader, Mercado N.1)



Figure 6.8 Customers buying to their trusted caseros at the end of market day.
Mercado N.1.March, 2015

Also, for customers as Erick, from Mercado N.1, it was evident that traders valued their relationships with customers, although for him there were still differentiated social stances defining those moments of brief connection:

“what [traders like from relating to customers] maybe to find interest in their things, about any problem they may have, [some to say] ‘I can help you’. Maybe the friendship, well not friendship but openness, they like that. [Traders think] ‘I’m here, he’s up there but he treats me the same, there’s no problem, he trusts me, we talk’.” (Erick, customer, Mercado N.1)

As commented by users from both markets, over the years there has been an evident change in how social structures affected relationships among *caseros*. Julia, trader from Mercado N.1, recalled a recent episode in which a lady started yelling to a young worker that visibly had *“features from the highlands”*, for a minor mistake in her selling service but, as she later stated:

“now it rarely happens, before it was like that, people like that used to come, but not now, they come quiet to do their shopping with their list and leave.” (Julia, trader, Mercado N.1)

Visiting and relating to the market atmosphere also worked for customers to get acquainted to traders and to how market exchanges operated. Some customers found convenience and response to their preferences in consumption. This was the case of customers who shared having made a turn to markets in the search for tradition, variety and even originality - this was clear among the youngest customers interviewed (Interview MN1-C9; SJM-C2). Hence, while getting acquainted to these open spaces of exchange, they also learned about other aspects of public life and the being in common in urban life. Antonio, a young professional in communications working close to Mercado N.1, commented in this respect:

“[I go to market] any day I have time, I leave early from work and say ‘ok, I’ll go’ (...) in the afternoon and [also] in the morning. In the afternoon, they [traders] give you ‘yapa’ [free products]. It depends on

time, which is what manages my life, but if I can choose, I would go in the afternoon, so I can get 'yapa'." (Antonio, customer, Mercado N.1)

Yapas (or llapas - Seligmann, 2015) are part of the everyday language at the city but are particular to trader-customer deals. While there are some negotiations during the sale for achieving a fair price and weight, *yapas*, or free products at the end of the exchange, are always expected by costumers. This type of courtesy from traders is another sign of good treatment for many customers, and which likewise differentiates the market from other spaces of commerce.

Experiences of this sort point at principles that are at the essence of exchanges as well as at the essence of developing relationships as a *casero* or *casera*. For Tula, daily shopper at San Jose market, traders have got to know her and her preferences. This continuity has made her more open to carry on with talks and jokes, but also more open to raise any claim on their service, with the confidence that people at the market will be responsive in return:

"(...) There's trust because they can't cheat on me, the 'caseras', they know me." (Tula, customer, San Jose Market)

Moreover, from these connections of trust, customers also identified what they were able to learn from traders' work. There were customers who highlighted traders' commitments and attitudes for facing social and economic environments that unfairly rewarded their efforts:

"[Being a trader] it's a job that is simple and maybe in society it can be seen as of low economic level but this guy [her 'casero'] works as if it were the best job in the world, and so that's a lesson of humility, mostly that. And it makes you think, there are people working in other things but all day they are angry and feel miserable because they don't like [their jobs], but this guy selling vegetables, it seems it were the best job he could imagine, and I think that it's mostly the attitude with which one faces the day to day." (Aurora, customer, Mercado N.1)

Then, relating under sociability and trust allowed to secure commercial exchanges among *caseros*, but also led to further social exchanges, developing relations of recognition among them as diverse agents in common action. In spite of the contrasting stances, views or tensions that may emerge from being together among strangers, marketplaces allow for subtle forms of relatedness along encounters. These may not necessarily lead to interactions but may open possibilities for social exchanges and for nurturing values connecting individuals. This way, the being in common in the urban space brings about possibilities for openness to different residents through continuous negotiations on sources of urban fragmentation (Simone, 2014) – such as those of social order before explored at markets.

6.2.5 Connecting market users over privatised spaces and imaginaries of disconnection

Market exchanges opened possibilities to develop negotiated understandings on differences and commonalities that worked in keeping *caseros* together in the same ground. These aspects raise the unique contributions of markets to urban life, providing opportunities for common actions and public engagements in cities where possibilities for these are increasingly lost, as in Lima (Vega Centeno, 2013). Susana, sociologist and frequent diner at San Jose market, summarised her views on the social functions of markets in accordance with these reflections:

“I really value the existence of these markets, I wouldn’t think on their extinction. Definitely, I think that any city needs to have these supplying centres (...) spaces of encounter and interaction are needed, in Lima we lack public spaces and I think markets are an interesting opportunity to generate this type of confluences (...) to make the city liveable. Markets are needed, vital spaces (...) [to recover these] It goes across public policies but also through ourselves.” (Susana, customer, San Jose Market)

Appreciation for markets from *caseros* as Susana raised the connections residents build to shared spaces, where they can converge and with which

they can engage. Customers I could briefly meet and talk to while shopping had been visiting these markets for many years, and shared memorable anecdotes in which traders were active participants. These long-lasting connections to markets raised my reflections in regard to how relationships built among *caseros* had made the commercial space trustworthy and inviting for these customers:

Fieldnote San Jose Market 18/12/2014

I talked to one of Ernesto's 'caseros' who was buying in the moment I approached his stall. He told me he was Eduardo's customer for 16 years already. He did her shopping in other stores and markets but preferred this market because he felt it was a safe place for shopping, although 'you had to pay more than in other markets of Lima'. He told me he had 'caseros' for every type of product and identified some of them by their nicknames: 'la Gata' for poultry, 'la Gorda' for vegetables.

Connections with urban life at marketplaces can be regarded as taking place along the commercial dynamics at these sites, reflecting the social vibrancy not only of markets but also of the surrounding areas and their 'street life' (Buie, 1996; Steel, 2008). Moreover, these connections surpass the activities of commerce and along interpersonal exchanges, residents negotiate individual offers and demands on these urban experiences (Medina, 2013). These particular contributions to social life have worked for maintaining preferences on markets and thus, for their endurance in spite of urbanisation processes favouring enclosed centres of exchange.

At San Jose market, commercial dynamics were linked to the district's commercial hub, to which the market is part of. In streets contiguous to the market, there was a large display of businesses, mostly small to middle size stores, many of these clustered in small shopping centres, selling clothing and accessories as well as a fair variety of street and traditional foodstuffs. Several customers at San Jose Market complemented their daily shopping at those stores nearby (See Figure 6.9).



Figure 6.9 Saturday afternoon at pedestrian street next to San Jose Market.
February, 2015

Furthermore, the rhythm of this commercial hub was connected to market activities in various forms - for instance in the level of attendance and its variations during the working day, the pace of visitors in circulating in and out the building, and through activities that surpass the streets, as cultural or political events, that were seen, heard or commented inside. Even when time was close to market's closure, activities at its surroundings provided a lively atmosphere that gave the impression of a market day not yet over:

Fieldnote San Jose Market 07/02/15

By this time, late afternoon, and being a weekend, I was surprised to see the streets full of people - the market area is highly commercial, there are stores selling mainly clothing and a variety of food. The pedestrian walk next to the market was full of people of different ages, sitting on the benches and chatting. There were children playing, families and friends eating traditional desserts that were sold in high amounts by small restaurants right next to the market.

A similar situation could be found at Mercado N.1. The pedestrian street next to the building and streets nearby hosted a number of grocery stores and restaurants, and few other stores offering varied products for the house. The pedestrian walk gained special vibrancy on the weekends, particularly on Sundays. These were the busiest days because of the 'Bioferia', an organic farmers' market running along this walk where convenience was not in terms of prices but in expanding food options, complementing the increased gastronomic interest on this market (See Figure 6.10). This street market also contributed to providing visibility to Mercado N.1 and in offering additional activities that made the place livelier on these days:

"(...) over this time, it [Mercado N.1] has improved. Now anyone who's looking for a specific product goes there directly and knows that at any stall will find it. It has definitely improved. As I told you, on weekends I see a lot of people, also because there's a fair on Sundays, an organic fair, it's very good for all the things they sell." (Nora, customer, Mercado N.1)



Figure 6.10 'Bioferia' on Sundays, at pedestrian street next to Mercado N.1.
February, 2015

In the same way that these nearby locations were regarded as raising markets' vibrancy, current trends from gastronomic campaigns were mentioned as bringing about renewed possibilities for markets' endurance. This is why some traders considered the popularity of *cevicherías* as an opportunity to attract more visitors and in time, new frequent customers that will keep the markets alive (See Section 4.2.5). Then, connections with urban life through economic activities in nearby areas, or residents' changes in consumption preferences, could be found as expressions of urban processes affecting markets' functions, but also adding to these. This could be observed under activities and dynamics complementing those at markets and contributing to keep up the attendance, enhancing the possibilities of commingling and interacting at markets. Moreover, by raising the visibility of markets, these complementary activities raised the appeal of these sites for customers already losing interests on traditional places of commerce. In that sense, the commercial vibrancy of markets was found as linked to how socially vibrant these could also become (De La Pradelle, 1995; Watson, 2009).

Beyond economic gains, connections with the market space could be likewise regarded as providing engagements with the urban context (De La Pradelle, 1995). Market encounters can bring about unequal and conflictive relations, but at the same time can be unique occasions for overcoming tensions from exchanges in diversity. For customers, who did not express substantive engagements with market operations or showed indifference to other users, some still raised their brief visits are enjoyable and meaningful because of those fleeting interactions that break the pace of individualised lifestyles:

"sometimes you just need someone to smile at you and treat you well to feel good (...) sometimes you're at work and nobody talks to you, and at the market at least they talk to you (...) I've noticed that, sometimes I'm alone at work, then go for fast food and nobody talks to me." (Daniel, customer, San Jose Market)

In time, becoming a *casera* allowed me to learn about traders' work and life at markets, to develop ties of friendship with them and receive the same in return, counting on their trust and openness to share work and life experiences with me:

Field note - after visits to both markets 09/02/2015

Traders develop ties of friendship, loyalty, admiration and affection with their 'caseros' [frequent customers]. I could notice it from life stories they shared with me about customers they know, and from observing them [while they sell and chat] as keen to develop these sorts of relationships and ties, as it has happened with me during this time as their frequent customer and visitor.

These social and spatial connections could be identified as broadening negotiations and debates along markets' everyday operations (Seligmann, 2015). These open negotiations involved interactions, as those described in this section along the moments of commerce and consumption, but also along moments of not interaction and mere co-presence (Watson, 2009). Hence, beyond economic purposes, local spaces of commerce should be regarded in their roles for fostering social relations that contribute to the persistence of shared spaces for urban life, despite urban dynamics disfavouring that sort of possibilities for living in common (De La Pradelle, 1998).

6.3. Conclusions: market exchanges and connections from social exchanges sustaining the common space

Throughout this chapter, I addressed encounters from market exchanges and interactions in the market space. I questioned what these could inform about connections among residents, despite the complex stories encountering and the complex environments in which these took place. Private and profit-making imperatives and social differentiations shaped a local context of weakened civic relatedness, affecting the availability of shared spaces as well as access to these. Nonetheless, given the conditions in which markets operate in the everyday, these can be found as connected to urban life, also in the sense of replicating everyday tensions among residents. Thus, interpersonal encounters along market exchanges were central for addressing relations and common experiences of everyday life at these sites. These were explored from direct exchanges between traders and customers, and from moments of not exchange and mere co-presence among strangers in market spaces.

Experiences of tensions or divisions among market users were particularly observed in the prevalence of private and unequal relations developed while conducting everyday activities in these shared spaces. Further observations on these relations follow previous arguments on relations of distrust and unequal recognition among markets users (See Sections 4.3 and 5.3), which become explicit during interactions – or avoidance of these - along commercial practices. However, traders' sociable approaches to customers, despite conflictive relations in other realms of market activities, opened doors to interaction, for instance by facilitating brief conversations in their attempts to satisfy consumption demands. This way, market users found possibilities to expand those encounters to social exchanges and to negotiate relations based in shared social and civic values. For instance, they developed relationships based on trust among *caseros*, known traders providing reliable products and transactions, and also developed trust on the marketplace, which hosted those trustworthy agents and actions.

Out of moments of exchange and direct interaction, market users pointed at limits on their openness to relate among strangers. These limits emerged in defence of their livelihoods, as in the case of traders who were concerned about protecting their businesses from strangers who might represent risks to their sales and vending spaces. Other limits on civic relatedness were raised by customers, who expressed their discomfort to conduct their activities under the known infrastructural deficiencies and among the social diversity mixing at these sites. These missing forms of civic relatedness reflected growing spatial and social pressures at these localities. In spite of these aspects, I could identify markets in their connection with urban life. These were characterised by the capacity to relate with different residents during exchange activities, as well as to relate with nearby areas, streets and public life connected to the open spaces (Buie, 1996). These observations raised evidence on the prevalent centrality of marketplaces in the development of urban networks of commerce but also as remaining central spaces for being together in the city.

The open configuration of markets preserved possibilities for negotiating relatedness and openness towards strangers encountering. Even when not exchanging, there were still unplanned or unintended encounters among individuals around resources of shared interest, as in the case of food. Food was the element around which most of the operations and interactions between traders and customers took place, although most of these moments were brief and mainly referred to commerce and consumption activities. Nonetheless, this element invited them to relate and brought about convergences among the different individuals encountering (Steel, 2008). Moreover, conducting my exchanges as a *casera*, I learned about other connecting elements such as language, attitudes and urban practices at markets. I recognised businesses and market users, and adopted responses to move around and carry on with exchanges, the same way other customers did. I realised that the proximity in which actors operated was relevant in recognising other individuals, and thus, in adopting or challenging public engagements, as well as social constructions under which the everyday evolved.

New commercial activities linked to food and gastronomic awareness may bring attention back to markets from the services these provide, to the varied publics these spaces gather. In that sense, beyond economic values, food trends and ventures could be evaluated from the opportunities these raise for recovering markets' social functions, in terms of what these spaces have and still represent for city life, the shared activities that sustain them and the shared benefits for urban living that can be as well obtained. These benefits surpass economic gains and can be regarded, for instance, in traders undertaking new ventures and securing personal achievements while also securing adequate work and living conditions for them and their colleagues. Also in customers approaching a reliable space of consumption while enjoying of positive moments of public commingling. Hence, markets' social functions (Mele et al., 2014) encouraged social exchanges and invited market users to identify learnings and gains out of experiences and relations from being together.

Beyond the economic and material aspects from which marketplaces are mainly evaluated, there is the central fact that these are places of people and for people. This invites to regard markets as vital spaces connecting residents through common actions and resources (Foster & Iaione, 2016). Then, on top of the tensions shaping markets' management and imaginaries, as well as manifestations of distrust, social difference or avoided co-presence, these spaces nurture urban life through the social relationships encouraged, adding vibrancy and attractiveness to these commercial locations. In such way, these local environments were characterised by allowing for negotiations on values of trust and recognition, facilitated by the prevailing sociality among traders and customers.

Although temporary, experiences of relating among market users showed how such sociability characterised market visits and exchanges and made possible the moments of interaction and co presence among market agents. As demonstrated by traders in their exchanges with frequent or potential customers, and among customers exchanging market or food information along brief interactions, sociability opened moments of relationality at markets, and contributed to extend engagements with their common making. Ongoing

renegotiations on social values and connections among residents contributed to the continuation of market operations as well as to the continuation of these spaces for urban life (Morales, 2010; Watson & Studdert, 2006).

7. Conclusions: encounters in marketplaces and negotiations for common living in Lima

“The market was a social institution, a place to visit, an opportunity to get away from loneliness (...).”

(Schneider, 1945, p.262)

As Schneider (1945) describes for municipal markets in Peruvian cities during early decades of the 20th century (he refers to the pre-Second World War period), these were places managed under social and civic commitments, where residents could access basic supplies but also an open space to linger. From these moments of togetherness, it was possible to enjoy civic relations that nurtured residents' connections with different others and with the city. These roles are today challenged by urbanisation pressures producing private, segregating and unequal engagements in spaces of residents' everyday action. Nonetheless, markets' prevalence and resurgence in contemporary cities raise awareness of their roles facing contemporary sources of social and spatial fragmentation. Markets maintain their roles in sustaining livelihoods and provisioning daily supplies despite periods of economic crisis, inflation and food shortages. In cities such as Lima, where markets are still found in multiple locations, there are a large number of residents - among traders, providers, customers and others – relying on these spaces (Filgueiras, 2009). Moreover, it is still possible to meet around shared activities and services, and reflect on these from their qualities for bringing residents together.

In this sense, I regard marketplaces as providing opportunities for contesting urban tensions from residents' encounters and negotiations in everyday actions. Through market stories, I highlighted the tensions characterising the everyday in Lima and situated these outcomes in relation to local processes shaping market environments. Observing encounters in the physical space of

markets, it was possible to identify multiple realms in which encounters took place. From these realms, I explored opportunities for residents' involvement in the making and endurance of spaces for common living. I identified converging actions and aims over the shared space, as well as contextual opportunities that worked in favour of markets' continuation, for instance in food-related interventions from which market users participated. In that way, this work contributes in situating and exploring markets within current urban conflicts and agendas.

Likewise, this work proved the applicability of experiential, immersive and qualitative methods as effective tools for researching market environments as well as for informing the planning of these shared urban spaces. Thus, this work also contributes to urban and markets' research and planning, generating relevant information on the past, present and future of these spaces, and raising evidence on knowledge gaps that need to be addressed for responding to pressures and demands on these. The empirical study also led me to evaluate the conceptual framework applied to produce knowledge from local spaces. Encounters became centrepieces for exploring these and for developing approximations to local environments and contexts. This focus also led me to discuss the outcomes in relation to broader perspectives on city living and urban planning. Thus, research outcomes invite the expansion of understandings and applications of encounters in evaluations on urban living, for instance by raising arguments on beyond-economic or community values that market users attach to these spaces (Bua et al., 2018).

In the following sections I will expand on these contributions, from empirical, methodological and conceptual regards. Finally, I will introduce questions and avenues emerging from this study, in the intention of bringing about attention to areas of knowledge, everyday experience and impact that remain underexplored in their implications for urban living.

7.1 Empirical Contributions

This research focused on closely observing and analysing residents' encounters at two old municipal and central markets of Lima, and from these, it sought to document the varied realities and intertwined realms shaping encounters and residents' experiences of living in common. Converging aspects in users' memories and views on markets allowed me to characterise these urban realities and realms, developing relevant associations with urban conflicts addressed for the city while also situating these in relation to the particularities that shaped market environments. Hence, empirical insights deepened into relations and arrangements giving sense to the complexity of market environments. Moreover, these brought about context opportunities that worked in favour of markets' continuation - for instance, through food-related interventions - and invited questions on how these opportunities worked despite prevalent tensions among users, such as those from private interventions or relations of social exclusion. On the whole, empirical information from encounters showed that market users found, beyond long-lasting divides, ways to respond to their needs and aims from the shared urban ground. This information contributed to situate markets in current urban agendas from the fields of encounter covered.

The first field of encounter addressed was markets' management, which I identified from analysing users' views on markets' set-up. These spaces were described as characterised by recurrent maintenance issues. "*Es un mercado*" [it is a market] was an expression associated with this general understanding on market conditions and to the little expectations on improvements for the sites. These aspects led me to look at management operations and question these assumptions on the set-up. I found these operations emmeshed in complicated relations of public and private appropriation, formality and informality in commercial activities, among others that portrayed local responses to a likewise complicated context of unclear or unfavourable regulations for spaces of collective use.

The privatisation of markets did not imply a straightforward process leaving markets' management only in private hands. Beyond traders and municipal authorities, beyond private and public owners, markets endure through the participation of multiple agents – customers, visitors, providers, gastronomic promoters, etc. - that under likewise multiple arrangements and purposes, engage with these spaces and impact on directions taken in markets' management and sustainability. Thus, despite rivalries in management and ownership, economic competence or private interests, markets provide a variety of services to residents – from livelihoods and provisioning to public living - that give sense to the true economic and political power of markets in contemporary cities (Hallsworth et al., 2015). Moreover, paying close attention to residents' operations at markets, it was possible to identify direct or indirect collaborations representing forms of commoning that maintained markets' common use and continuity of operations. These actions in common raised insights on values that were knitted in togetherness among market users, as in the case of trust, that allowed for such collaborations despite existing differences among individual and collective purposes.

I continued by addressing encounters around market imaginaries, another central realm in market experiences identified from analysing users' views on markets' offer and attendance. "*Hay de todo*" [there is everything] was the expression generally used to describe the range of food offer and interestingly, it was often an expression used to describe customers' attendance. The offer was recalled as being diverse, but such variety was actually restricted to the purchasing capacity of main customers. These aspects led me to explore expressions – mainly visible representations around food stalls – of sociocultural diversity at markets. These implied complicated relations among market users deriving from divisions of status or sociocultural trajectories. Social differences could be associated with labels of segregation – such as internal migration, poverty or the negative connotations of participating from a space of public access. Thus, those representations and expressions of diversity at markets could be evaluated as users' responses to overcome such labels while also participating in the building up of market spaces.

The assimilation of gastronomic trends reached only a sector of market activities. Most of these were instead characterised by the offer of varied produce and services that responded to their main users' demands – for instance, in the balance found in modernity and tradition, in selectivity and accessibility of prices. Exploring these varied activities and roles that markets accomplish for their users also leads to the recognition of this collective and its sociocultural differences. In this regard, the diverse trajectories converging at markets could be evaluated as collectively negotiating the availability of demands, the visibility of spaces and services, as well as the social meanings or significances applied to markets and their users. Hence, residents encountering can engage with the ongoing recreation of urban imaginaries and the materialization of the common space (Scorer, 2016). In that sense, this form of commoning can encourage further action on these shared spaces, for instance by raising the visibility of markets working close to local sources of production, as well as contributing to more sustainable and accessible forms of consumption (Tefft et al., 2017). On top of provisioning or economic benefits, these negotiations on meanings and social expressions on markets unveil these as spaces nurturing recognition towards the diverse actors, stories and aspirations that participate in the city and converge in such everyday commingling.

Thirdly, I addressed encounters under the field of market exchanges, which I analysed from users' views on everyday commercial exchanges at these sites. At first, markets were characterised by open interactions between traders and customers, which could likewise imply relations of trust and recognition between *caseros* [frequent customers and traders]. However, the commercial exchange represented a transient moment in which market users shared their personal and private spaces. Extending observations to moments out of these transactions and in the public realm of the market, interactions turned out to be absent and even not desired. In this way, users' ways of relating reflected the weak civic relatedness that has been reported in Lima's public realm, with markets' physical conditions representing the city's loss of public spaces, and the avoidance of strangers representing the lost engagements with different others in experiences of public living.

Urban projects have often worked towards these disconnections with the public realm especially in contexts where public spaces are increasingly threatened by uncontrolled infrastructural developments and expanding vehicular spaces, as in the case of Lima. However, markets function in close connection to the public realm, both for their openness to diverse publics, as well as for their close operations with street dynamics, which facilitate the accessibility to market spaces and services, for instance against gentrifying interests or the commodification of public resources. Hence, it is inherent of markets to extend their physical frontiers and connect local dynamics with processes of city making. In doing so, these encourage residents' relatedness and connections through the accessing, mobilising and sharing of urban resources as foodstuffs (Groenendaal, 2016). The characteristic sociality during market exchanges emerges as the value underlying such possibilities to commonly use and shape markets' social and spatial environments.

Under these regards, this research feeds discussions and projects in urban planning with empirical arguments in favour of spaces such as markets in their qualities for making togetherness work and ensuring the sustainability of collective urban futures. I continue by addressing methodological and conceptual contributions that derive from these empirical insights.

7.2 Methodological Contributions

This work contributes methodologically to urban and market areas of research and planning firstly by proving that its methods were effective in building knowledge across scales, dimensions and disciplines. From these, it was possible to address markets from beyond the immediate physical space and inform broader fields of encounter. In such a way, ethnographic methods allowed me to identify beyond-economic roles and values on markets, and to place these objectively in relation to partial evaluations – such as infrastructural or commercial – applied to discuss markets in modern cities. Hence, this study raises the relevance of qualitative and experiential research methods, as in the case of ethnographic methods, for decoding market environments and the relations and arrangements underlying their continued operation. Furthermore, these immersive methods allow the researcher to move through known and unknown aspects – for instance, in cases when there are no measures or historic documentation that may provide a point of departure or basal line for the project – and despite this, build relevant understandings from observing these aspects on the spaces under study.

I also conducted this research through an intra-urban comparative analysis of two case studies, which led me to raise key insights on their different forms of operating, the different publics these served and the ways these were impacted by pressures of urban growth. The comparative approach compelled me to be more reflexive on the temporal and material frames of encounters at markets, given each local context required particular observations on the histories, purposes and actors converging. Likewise, it was important to move beyond the structural frame of markets and approach other resources that motivated common interests and moments of togetherness at these spaces, as in the case of food products. This resource in particular became highly useful in situating and exploring encounters under aspects of everyday conflict and possibility for being together. As a main good in exchange or as a recurrent topic, food was more than a materiality at the market space and was actually a social facilitator along my explorations. Moreover, given the occurrence of

gastronomic campaigns, it was important to acknowledge the sociocultural meanings that certain food offers contained, as well as the messages and representations present at markets. These contributed to develop fuller understandings on users' dynamics at these localities.

The flexibility of the qualitative approach provided me with the possibility to expand my research practice and analysis across urban markets and contexts at different latitudes. I aimed to maintain awareness on global cases that offered valuable examples of togetherness and contestation to urban tensions from market grounds. From bibliographic references or my own search for emblematic markets, revived or endangered by urban changes, I could identify cases where to conduct a series of additional visits and observations. At these markets, I explored the applicability of the research focus across fields of knowledge and geographical areas, and drew on urban dynamics that may transcend the local scale. These references expanded the limits of my local understandings and importantly added to the arguments raised in this work. Under these considerations, this research demonstrates the adequacy of ethnographic and immersive methodologies to sustain urban analysis and dialogues, as well as expanding beyond quantitative approaches to measure the real values and gains that residents negotiate from markets' possibilities for being together.

7.3 Conceptual Contributions

To analyse encounters, I departed from the notion of these as physical intersections and emphasised how they exceed immediate co-presence and imply processes of negotiation allowing for being together at urban spaces. In that regard, market encounters lead to observations on the varied relations and arrangements that residents develop to address urban barriers and from which they construct the city where they live in common. The shared nature of the operations, resources and spatial configurations of these sorts of spaces allow for such moments in common and open avenues for collective action. Moreover, encounters among the diverse collective of market users unveil valued outcomes from these spaces, beyond the economic roles that are mainly attached. In that sense, encounters invite to identify these values from realms that impact on people's participation in the city, and from these, to address actual demands on urban living and residents' limitations to act upon these.

In this work, encounters were firstly analysed from commercial exchanges at markets, from sales and consumption activities, which led me to identify economic values of market services for their users. Paying closer attention to these activities, I could move to identify cultural values associated with resources at stake, such as foodstuffs and markets. These determined the course of commercial exchanges, for instance by contributing to the appeal to certain food products. Moreover, cultural values underlay traders and customers' desires and possibilities to access the shared space as well as to participate in a collective with mixed views and uses over it. Acknowledging these economic and cultural values, and deepening experiences of encounter at markets, social values appeared as determining people's capacities to negotiate the shared space and those activities together.

When social values among market users were weak or at conflict, not only encounters or interpersonal relations were conflicted, but also other types of values, such as those cultural values on food and economic values on market

spaces. In practice, this was observed in dimensions of market's functioning, as in market's management, traders' profitability and market atmosphere, as well as in infrastructural maintenance, quality of produce and safety of markets and surroundings, among other aspects. Trust, recognition and sociality emerged as values defining residents' engagements and common making of these case studies. Despite private and competitive actions, market users knitted networks of trust among *caseros*. These allowed them to identify markets as trustworthy spaces for conducting work or commerce operations, and hence, to accommodate contrasting purposes and take part in the shared space. On top of relations of unequal status and segregation, market users visibilised their social, political or economic differences and daily engaged with actions that secured the recognition of their offers and demands. Hence, markets emerged as spaces of openness and recognition towards diversity. Finally, beyond situations of distrust and segregation among traders and customers, sociable approaches and interactions invited the completion and continuation of commercial transactions. As spaces of sociality, markets brought in residents' connections and experiences of public living.

This way, encounters get to the core of what makes urban spaces conducive to enjoyable and fruitful ways of urban living, addressing beyond-economic and beyond-measurable realms that can be applied to planning and development approaches. Translating the notion of encounter to the everyday at markets, this study aims to bring contributions on how encounters work and how these may untangle contemporary forms of inhabiting and making of the city. Discussions and contributions presented aim to reinforce the relevance of a people-centred study and evaluation of urban spaces such as markets, which real roles and values can only be measured in the effectiveness of these for residents' demands and aspirations.

7.4 Avenues for Future Research

Researching market encounters requires engagement with market histories of consolidation in cities, both across times and urban scales, as well as with market users' stories in relation to these spaces. This allows the situating of encounters under the complex environments in which markets function and in that way, produce empirical outcomes of relevance for urban studies and the planning of these sites.

Departing from this focus on encounters, future research on marketplaces could inform different environments and realms of everyday living and negotiation to which residents take part. These forms of engagement with different localities could broaden agendas on market studies that focus on conflictive situations of urban growth but put little attention on cities' qualities working for residents' convergence. Likewise, future research could explore different local assets – or expand on the role of food, as in this case - that may work as suitable lenses to deepen knowledge on encounters, local relations and complexities. Furthermore, future projects could address comparisons across urban contexts, applying the same lenses or exploring the same realms of encounter, and in such way, raise connections or contrasts among localities that may feed regional or global urban development agendas. In broadening these, future projects can question how these spaces also provide opportunities to address emerging areas of interdisciplinary attention, such as food sustainability, cooperative economies and innovative stakes in urban governance and local development. These linkages may bring about new values or pillars from which to continue the study of markets or other spaces that bring together food and collective action.

Methodologically, to engage with market and users' stories requires a dialogue between ethnographic methods and sources of documentation that complement or expand the qualitative approach. Hence, researchers need to evaluate available sources for documenting market realities as well as for clarifying the information that will be raised in the field. These sources may be

scarce or hardly accessible for planners or researchers, as in the case of this study, and for that reason it is crucial that future projects engage as well with filling these knowledge gaps. Under this research scope, I identified the relevance of having available historical data on markets' foundation, as well as data documenting their changing governance and operating conditions. Likewise, I found it relevant to produce quantitative measurements on markets' users and activities that may not be available. For instance, some data that was missing for these cases: accurate measures of markets' workforce - owners, tenants and workers; safety requirements and compliance; visitors' fluxes during the week, month and season; average time spent at markets; current and prospective sales and demands (per product and service, per market), among others. Moreover, future projects could inform the most suitable methods for addressing such knowledge gaps on market environments. For instance, a national census on markets was undertaken in Peru but it was not comprehensive on data related to market's functioning or services (INEI, 2016); in other countries, there are studies looking to identify beyond-economic values of markets in support of urban policies, but these still miss being more inclusive of social outcomes for the communities involved (Jarvis, 2017).

Lastly, it is crucial for the researcher to define the scope or theoretical perspectives through which encounters and research outcomes will be analysed. In this study, I found it useful to analyse encounters under emerging discussions on urban commons. Other studies could follow on this perspective and develop in-depth evaluations of the commoning and use of markets, identifying how these insights could be put into practice and what it may imply for markets' futures. This study also brought about evidence on beyond-economic values of marketplaces. These could feed evolving research projects on the social and community value of markets (Bua et al., 2018), and open avenues to expand these research commitments across geographical locations, as well as across planning and governance bodies concerned with the renovation or creation of these spaces of collective use and purpose.

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Annexes

Annex 1: Information provided to Traders' Associations and Municipal Authorities at the start of Research Project

- **Template for Invitation Letter to Market and Municipal Authorities
[English]**

Lima, [date]

[Market Manager / Municipal Authority]

The purpose of this letter is to introduce the researcher, Ana Maria Huaita Alfaro, and the research work she is conducting as part of her doctoral studies, towards the degree of Development Planning by the Development Planning Unit at University College London (UK).

Miss Huaita is developing the research project entitled “Reshaping civic culture in urban food markets: social encounters around food in the context of the ‘gastronomic boom’ in Lima, Peru”. Under this project, she aims to collect experiences and opinions related to regular activities done in retail markets and reflect about their values in building an urban culture of everyday life.

[Name of Market] has been identified as a key space for the development of this research due to its important role as an emblematic and central public space in Lima. Therefore, the interest of including this market into the research project. Moreover, as part of this work, the researcher will look to develop activities with market actors (traders, agents, customers, etc.) in order to share insights produced from this research.

This information is intended to contribute to enhancing market activities, for instance identifying values that customers assigned to their experiences at at this space, and which may allow traders to strengthen or enhance their offer.

Data collection will be developed under the following methods:

- Observation of typical activities at the market, where encounters, exchanges and interactions among participants can be identified.
- Interviews with participants, after proving their consent.
- Visual records, mainly as photographs (with occasional video recording) as representations of the market space and everyday activities.

The researcher guaranties that data collected will only be managed by her and under the purposes of this research project. If you had any question about these purposes or the development of this project, please do not hesitate to contact her directly.

Yours sincerely,

Ana Maria Huaita Alfaro

Candidata a doctorado en Planificación del Desarrollo

Development Planning Unit, University College London (London, UK)

[contact details]

- **Template for Invitation Letter to Market and Municipal Authorities**
[Spanish]

Lima, [date]

[Market Manager / Municipal Authority]

La presente va con el fin de saludarlo y presentar a usted y a la asociación que representa a quien suscribe esta carta: la Srta. Ana Maria Huaita Alfaro, candidata a doctorado en Planificación del Desarrollo por la Development Planning Unit, de la University College London (Londres, Reino Unido).

La Srta. Huaita se encuentra desarrollando el proyecto de investigación doctoral titulado “Reformando la cultura cívica en mercados urbanos de comida: encuentros sociales en torno a la comida en el contexto del ‘boom gastronómico’ en Lima, Perú”. Dicho proyecto de investigación busca recoger experiencias y opiniones relacionadas con las actividades de la vida cotidiana que se realizan en torno a la comida en los mercados de abastos de Lima. El propósito de recoger esta información es el de reflexionar acerca del valor de estas actividades en construir la cultura de la vida cotidiana en la ciudad.

[Name of Market] se ha identificado como un espacio clave para el desarrollo de esta investigación dada su relevancia como espacio público, emblemático y central en la ciudad de Lima. Es por ello que a través de esta comunicación se expresa a su vez el interés de incluir a este mercado en el desarrollo del proyecto. Mas aún, el estudio pretende a su vez el desarrollo de actividades con los actores que participen de él (comerciantes, representantes, clientes entrevistados, entre otros) en las cuales se compartirán los hallazgos preliminares de la investigación. Este compartir de información se espera sea enriquecedor para el desarrollo de las actividades internas en el mercado, como por ejemplo el identificar lo que los clientes valoran de su experiencia en este espacio y con ello, que los comerciantes identifiquen también aspectos para fortalecer o revalorar de su oferta.

La recolección de información se realizará en base a los siguientes métodos:

- Observación de las actividades típicas del mercado, en las que puedan identificarse encuentros, intercambios e interacciones entre comerciantes, clientes, autoridades, entre otros actores que participan del mercado.
- Entrevistas a los actores arriba mencionados, previo consentimiento.
- Registros visuales, principalmente fotografías (y potencialmente videgrabaciones), como representación del espacio del mercado y sus actividades cotidianas.

Se garantiza que sólo la investigadora tendrá acceso a la información recolectada y que asegura su uso únicamente con fines relacionados a su

proyecto de investigación doctoral. Si tuviera alguna duda acerca de los propósitos o el desarrollo de este proyecto, no dude en contactarse con ella.

Esperando contar con el apoyo de la asociación para el pronto inicio de las actividades de investigación, se despide cordialmente.

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Annex 2: List of Questions for Semi-Structured Interviews

- **List of Questions for Traders [English]**

Name:

Age:

Place of birth:

Place of residence:

Educational level:

Occupation:

Civil status:

About commercial history at the market:

- How long have you been working at the market?
- Did you start this business?
- Do you have other stalls at the market/outside the market?

About products:

- How did you decide to start selling these products?
- Do you feel comfortable in this field?
- How would you describe your offer of products and services? What characterises you?
- What do you think you could change to improve? On what or whom it depends?
- How would you describe the offer of products and services from your other traders/competitors? What makes them different?
- What would you identify as positive and negative from this type of commerce?
- Do you think these products are of high demand at this market? And in Lima? Why?
- Have there been any changes in customers' preferences/demands?
- What makes it particular the offer of products at this market? Have there been any changes?

About the market space / regulation on the space and on commercial activities:

- What characterises this market (besides the offer)? What makes it different from other markets?
- How is a regular day at the market? What routines would characterise it?
- What do you know about this market's history?
- What do you think about its current conditions (infrastructure, surroundings, management, etc.)?
- What do you like the most/what would you change?
- On what or whom these conditions depend?
- Have you participated, directly or indirectly, of this market's management? How and why?
- What other actors or factors from the context do you consider influence or have influenced this market (today and in the past)?
- Do you consider these as positive or negative influences to the market? And for your business?
- What do you think about the role of municipal and national authorities in the way food businesses and markets develop? What should they do?
- What do you think about the role of the private sector in this regard?
- Do you think the gastronomic boom has had any impact in this market, in your business field and in food commerce in markets, in general?
- What are the challenges for working in a market today?
- How would be an ideal market for you?

About relationships with other traders at the market:

- What types of traders can you find at this market? How would you describe them?
- How would you describe your relationship with your colleagues at the market?
- Who are your closest colleagues?
- What do you like the most about your interaction with other traders? And what do you like the least? Do you have any anecdotes?
- How do you think they feel about their work and about their everyday at the market?

About relationships with customers at the market:

- What kind of customers come to the market? How would you describe them?
- Who are your customers?
- Do you have customers to whom you feel closest to? Why?
- How would you describe the way you relate to your customers?

- What do you like the most about your interaction with customers and what do you like the least? Do you have any anecdotes?
- What do you think your customers like the most about coming to the market and buying to you?

About your personal experience at the market:

- Could you describe a regular day of work, including what you do before and after you come to the market?
- How would you describe your experience at the market? (work and life)
- What do you like the most about your work at the market?
- Are there any ideas, practices or habits that you have changed from your experiences at the market?
- What are the most important achievements and life learnings that you can relate to your work and everyday at the market?
- What are your aspirations today in relation to your business? What does it imply to achieve these?

- **List of Questions for Traders [Spanish]**

Nombre:

Edad:

Lugar de nacimiento:

Lugar donde reside:

Nivel educativo:

Ocupacion:

Estado civil:

Sobre historia comercial en el Mercado:

- Hace cuanto se encuentra trabajando en el Mercado?
- Usted inicio este negocio?
- Usted tiene otros puestos en el Mercado/fuera?
- Con quien/quienes trabaja en el puesto? Tienen alguna afiliacion con usted?

Sobre los productos:

- Como decidio dedicarse a la venta de estos productos? (si no lo mencionó antes)
- Esta a gusto con este rubro?
- Como describiria su oferta de productos y/o servicios? Que lo caracteriza?
- Que cree que podria cambiar para que esta sea aun mejor? De que/quienes depende?
- Y como describiria la oferta de productos y servicios de su competencia? Que los diferencia?
- Que identificaria como lo positivo y negativo del comercio de estos productos para usted?
- Cree que estos son productos/comida de mucha demanda en este mercado? Y en Lima? Porque?
- Han habido cambios en las preferencias/la demanda de los clientes?
- Que es particular en la oferta de productos de este mercado? Han habido cambios en la oferta?

Sobre el espacio del Mercado/regulaciones del espacio y el comercio:

- Que caracteriza a este mercado para usted (ademas de lo arriba mencionado)? Que lo diferencia de otros?
- Como es un dia regular en el mercado? Que rutinas lo caracterizan?
- Que conoce de la historia de este mercado?
- Que opina sobre el estado actual del Mercado? (infraestructura/entorno/gestion...)
- Que es lo que mas valora/que cambiaria?

- De que/quienes depende el estado actual del Mercado? Y los cambios?
- Ha participado o participa directa o indirectamente en la gestion del Mercado? De que manera/Por que?
- Aparte de ellos (mencionados antes), que actores o factores del contexto considera influncian y han influenciado en el Mercado (hoy y en el pasado, en como ha sido gestionado)?
- Considera que son influencias o fuerzas positivas o negativas para el mercado? Y para su negocio?
- Que opina del rol de las autoridades municipales y nacionales en la manera en que el comercio de comida y los mercados se desarrollan? Que deberian hacer?
- Que opina del rol del sector privado respecto a su impacto en lo mismo? (y de otros actores mencionados antes)
- Cree que el boom gastronomico ha tenido algun impacto en el mercado, en su rubro de comercio y en el comercio de comida en mercados, en general?
- Que retos implica trabajar en un mercado hoy?
- Como seria un mercado ideal para usted? (este u otro imaginario)

Sobre las relaciones en el Mercado con otros comerciantes:

- Que tipo de comerciantes hay en este mercado (rubro, origen, etc.)? como los describiria?
- Como describiria la relacion que mantiene con sus companeros del Mercado?
- Quienes son sus companeros mas cercanos?
- Que es lo que mas le gusta de su interaccion con sus companeros? Y lo que menos le gusta? Anecdotas?
- Como cree que ellos se sienten respecto a su trabajo y su dia a dia en el mercado?

Sobre las relaciones en el Mercado con los clientes:

- Que tipos de clientes vienen al mercado? como los describiria?
- Quienes son sus clientes?
- Tiene clientes con quienes sienta mayor cercania? Por que?
- Como describiria la forma en que se relaciona con sus clientes?
- Que es lo que mas le gusta de su interaccion con los clientes? Y lo que menos le gusta? Anecdotas?
- Que cree que le gusta mas a sus clientes de venir al Mercado y de venir a comprarle?

Sobre la experiencia personal en el Mercado:

- Podria describir un dia regular de trabajo, incluyendo lo que hace antes y despues (fuera y dentro) del mercado?
- Haciendo un balance, como describiria su experiencia en el mercado? (de trabajo y personal)
- Que es lo que mas le gusta de su trabajo en el mercado?
- Hay ideas, practicas o costumbres que haya cambiado a partir de sus experiencias en el mercado?
- Cuales son los logros y aprendizajes de vida mas importantes que podria relacionar con su trabajo y dia a dia en el mercado?
- Cuales son sus aspiraciones hoy respecto al negocio? Que implica el alcanzarlas?

- **List of Questions for Customers [English]**

Name:

Age:

Place of birth:

Place of residence:

Educational level:

Occupation:

Civil status:

About history of visiting at the market:

- How often do you come to this market?
- How long have you been coming to this market? How did know about it?
- Who do you come to do your shopping / buy foodstuffs with?

About products:

- What products do you buy/eat regularly at the market? Why?
- How would you describe the quality of products and services? What could be changed to improve?
- Why do you prefer to do your shopping/buy foodstuffs at this market? Is there anything in particular you like?
- What would you identify as positive and negative about the commerce of products you prefer?
- Do you think these products are of high demand at this market? Why?
- Have there been any changes in customers' preferences/demands?
- What makes it particular the offer of products at this market? Have there been any changes?

About the market versus other spaces of food offer:

- In addition to this market, do you do your shopping/buy foodstuffs in other places? Which ones and why?
- With whom do you go shopping with?
- How would you differentiate the environment of these other places with that of the market?
- What would you evaluate as positive from the market facing these other options?

About the market space / regulation on the space and on commercial activities:

- What characterises this market (besides the offer)?
- What is the first thing that comes to your mind when you think about the market? (images, topics, people, smells, etc.)

- What do you know about this market's history? What are the most important changes you know about this place?
- What do you think about its current conditions (infrastructure, surroundings, management, etc.)?
- What do you like the most and what would you change?
- On what or whom these conditions depend?
- Have you participated, directly or indirectly, of this market's management? How and why?
- What actors or factors from the context do you consider influence or have influenced this market (today and in the past)?
- Do you think the gastronomic boom has had any impact in this market, in the products you consume and in markets, in general?
- What are the challenges for marketplaces today?
- How would be an ideal market for you?

About relationships with traders at the market:

- What types of traders can you find at this market? How would you describe them?
- To which traders do you buy regularly? Why?
- Do you feel closer to any of them?
- In general, how is your relationship with the traders from whom you buy regularly? How are your interactions, regularly?
- What do you like the most about your interaction with traders? And what do you like the least? Do you have any anecdotes?
- What do you think traders value the most about their interaction with traders? And what do they like the least?

About relationships with other customers at the market:

- What kind of customers come to the market? How would you describe them?
- Who do you consider are the main customers of this market?
- Do you meet people you know when you come to do your shopping?
- Do you usually interact with other customers? How are these interactions? Why?
- Have you met people you knew from the market out of this space? How have these encounters been?
- Do you recommend other people coming to the market? Why?
- What do you like the most about your interaction with other customers? And what do you like the least?
- What do you think other customers like about coming to the market? And what do they like the least?

About your personal experience at the market:

- Could you describe a regular visit to the market? Including what you do before coming and the moment you leave the market.
- How would you describe your experiences at the market? What do you like the most and the least about coming to the market?
- Are there any ideas, practices or habits that you have changed from your experiences at the market?
- Would you identify life learnings from your experiences at the market? Would you have any reflections from participating in the physical and social space of the market?

- **List of Questions for Customers [Spanish]**

Nombre:

Edad:

Lugar de nacimiento:

Lugar donde reside:

Nivel educativo:

Ocupacion:

Estado civil:

Sobre historia de asistencia al Mercado:

- Con que frecuencia viene a este mercado? (dias/horas) De que depende esa frecuencia?
- Hace cuanto visita este Mercado? Como llego a el?
- Con quien suele venir a hacer las compras / a consumir comida?

Sobre los productos:

- Que productos compra / consume regularmente en el Mercado? Por que?
- Como describiria la calidad de los productos y los servicios que se ofrecen? Que podria cambiar para que la calidad sea mejor?
- Porque prefiere hacer esas compras en este mercado? Algo en particular que lo anime a preferirlo?
- Que identificaria como lo positivo y negativo del comercio de estos productos en este mercado?
- Cree que estos son productos / comida de mucha demanda en este mercado? Porque?
- Cree que han habido cambios en las preferencias o en el tipo de demanda de los clientes?
- Que es particular en la oferta de productos de este mercado? Esta oferta ha cambiado en el tiempo?

Sobre el mercado/espacio publico versus otras ofertas de comida:

- Ademas de este Mercado, hace sus compras / consumo de comida en otros lugares? Cuales y por que?
- Con quienes realiza compras en estos otros lugares?
- Como se diferencia el ambiente y el entorno de estos otros lugares con los del mercado?
- Que calificaria como positivo del mercado frente a estas otras opciones de compra?

Sobre el espacio del Mercado/regulaciones del espacio y el comercio:

- Que caracteriza a este mercado para usted (ademas de lo arriba mencionado)?
- Que es lo primero que le viene a la mente cuando piensa en el mercado? (que imagenes, temas, personas, olores, etc. le evoca?)
- Que conoce de la historia de este mercado? Cuales son los cambios mas significativos que conoce de el?
- Que opina sobre el estado actual del Mercado? (infraestructura, entorno, gestion, etc.)
- Que es lo que mas valora de este mercado y que le cambiaria?
- De que o quienes depende el estado actual del Mercado? Y los cambios?
- Ha participado o participa directa o indirectamente en temas relacionado a la gestion del Mercado? De que manera y por que?
- Que actores o factores del contexto (social, economico, politico, etc.) considera que influyen y/o han influenciado en el Mercado?
- Cree que el boom gastronomico ha tenido algun impacto en el mercado, en los productos / la comida que consume y/o en el comercio de estos en el mercado?
- Que retos cree que enfrentan los mercados hoy?
- Como seria un mercado ideal para usted?

Sobre las relaciones en el Mercado con los comerciantes:

- Que tipo de comerciantes hay en este mercado Como los describiria? (ejm. por rubro, características personales, origen, etc.)
- Con que comerciantes realiza sus compras regularmente? Porque?
- Con algun casero siente mayor cercania?
- En general, como es la relacion con sus caseros? De que manera se dan las interacciones entre ustedes regularmente?
- Que es lo que mas le gusta de la interaccion con sus caseros? Y lo que menos le gusta?
- Que cree que es lo que los vendedores valoran mas de la interaccion con ustedes, sus clientes? Y que cree que es lo que menos les gusta (ejm. situaciones incomodas para ellos)?

Sobre las relaciones en el Mercado con otros clientes:

- Que tipos de clientes vienen al mercado? como los describiria? (ejm. que buscan, procedencia, perfil socio economico, edad, etc.)
- A quienes consideraria los clientes principales?
- Se encuentra con personas conocidas o cercanas cuando viene a hacer sus compras?
- Usualmente interactua con otros compradores? Como se dan estas interacciones y por que?

- Se ha encontrado con personas que ha conocido en el mercado en espacios fuera de el? Como han sido esos encuentros?
- Recomienda a otras personas asistir a este mercado? Con que motivo?
- Que es lo que mas le gusta de su interaccion con otros clientes? Y lo que menos le gusta?
- Que cree que es lo que mas les gusta a los clientes de venir al mercado? Y lo que menos les gusta?

Sobre la experiencia personal en el Mercado:

- Podria describir una visita regular al mercado? Desde el momento en que 'se alista' para hacer la visita o sale de su casa, hasta que concluye su visita.
- Haciendo un balance, como describiria sus experiencias en el mercado? Que es lo que mas y menos le gusta de venir al mercado?
- Hay ideas, practicas o costumbres que haya cambiado a partir de sus experiencias en el mercado?
- Identificaria aprendizajes de vida que podria relacionar con sus experiencias en el mercado? Que reflexiones le despierta el espacio fisico y el espacio social del mercado?

- **List of Questions for Municipal Authorities [English]**

Position/Office at Municipality
[Description of responsibilities]

About municipality's roles in relation to market activities:

- What are the roles of this municipality in relation to this market's functioning?
- How long has the municipality has these roles? Has it always been that way?
- Who are in charge of these roles or functions? Which offices or staff?
- Are these functions share with other actors outside the municipality?
- What are the plans or perspectives from the municipality about markets in this district?
- Are there any urban development plans that involve this market or other markets in the district?

About the market space / regulation on the space and on commercial activities:

- What characterises this market? What makes it different from others?
- What do you know about this market's history? Are there any registers about this at the municipality? If not, where?
- What do you think about its current conditions (infrastructure, surroundings, management, etc.)?
- What does the municipality values the most about this market?
- On what or whom these conditions depend? Who are the main actors taking decisions about the management and functioning of this market?
- What actors or factors from the context do you consider influence or have influenced this market (today and in the past)? Do you think these are positive or negative influences for the market?
- What do you think about the role of municipal and national authorities in the way food businesses and markets develop? What should they do?
- What do you think about the role of the private sector in this regard?
- Do you think the gastronomic boom has had any impact in this market, in your business field and in food commerce in markets, in general?
- What are the challenges for working in a market today?

About products:

- How would you describe the offer of products and services at this market? What characterises it? What is of highest demand?

- What would you identify as positive and negative about the commerce of these products?
- What do you think can be changed to improve? On what or whom it depends?
- Have there been any changes in customers' preferences/demands? Or has there been any changes in the offer of products at this market?
- Is the municipality somehow engaged with the current offer and demand at the market? (policies, regulations, promoting activities, etc.)

About relationships with traders at the market:

- What types of traders can you find at this market? How would you describe them?
- How would you describe the relationship of the municipality with traders? How are communications or interactions between these two parties?
- Are there any traders who have become closer to the municipality, regarding issues of management or others? How did they become closer?
- What do you value the most about your relationship with traders? And what do you like the least?
- What do you think traders feel about their work at the market? (what do they like, what do they value, their difficulties and limitations, etc.)

About relationships with customers at the market:

- What kind of customers come to the market? How would you describe them?
- Who do you consider are the main customers of this market?
- Does the municipality somehow engage with customers of this market? Are there any spaces of civic participation in this market?
- What do you think customers like about coming to the market? And what do they like the least?

About your personal experience at the market:

- Could you describe a regular day of work at the market / a regular visit to the market?
- How would you describe your experience of working with this market?
- What are the most important achievements at the market deriving from municipal interventions?
- What are the challenges of managing a market today?
- How would be an ideal market for you?
- What the aims today in relation to this market? What opportunities and challenges do you identify?
- What learnings and reflections could you identify from your experience at the market?

- **List of Questions for Municipal Authorities [Spanish]**

Cargo que ocupa / Area de Municipalidad:

[Descripcion de funciones]

Sobre roles del municipio en relacion a actividades del Mercado:

- Cuales son los roles del municipio en relacion al funcionamiento del mercado?
- Desde cuando se ejercen estos roles? Siempre ha sido asi?
- Quienes ejercen estos roles o funciones? Que oficinas/personal?
- Se comparten estas funciones con otros actores fuera del municipio?
- Cuales son los planes o perspectivas de la municipalidad para los mercados del distrito?
- Se tienen planes de desarrollo urbano que involucren a este mercado, o a los mercados del distrito?

Sobre el espacio del Mercado/regulaciones del espacio y el comercio:

- Que caracteriza a este mercado para usted? Que lo diferencia de otros?
- Que conoce de la historia de este mercado? La municipalidad tiene registro de ella? Si no, quien?
- Que opina sobre el estado actual del mercado? (infraestructura/entorno/oferta/gestion...)
- Que es lo que mas se valora del mercado desde el municipio?
- De que/quienes depende el estado actual del Mercado? Quienes son los principales actores en la toma de decisiones respecto a la gestion y funcionamiento del mercado?
- Que actores o factores del contexto considera influncian y han influenciado en el mercado? (infraestructura/entorno/oferta/gestion...) Considera que son influencias o fuerzas positivas o negativas para el mercado?
- Que opina del rol de las autoridades municipales y nacionales en la manera en que el comercio de comida y los mercados se desarrollan? Que deberian hacer?
- Que opina del rol del sector privado respecto a su impacto en lo mismo?
- Cree que el boom gastronomico ha tenido algun impacto en el mercado, y en el comercio de comida en mercados, en general?

Sobre los productos:

- Como describiria la oferta de productos y/o servicios en este mercado? Que lo caracteriza? Que es lo que tiene mayor demanda?
- Que identificaria como lo positivo y negativo del comercio de estos productos para usted?
- Que cree que podria cambiar para que el comercio en el mercado sea aun mejor? De que/quienes depende?
- Cree que han habido cambios en las preferencias/la demanda de los clientes? O han habido cambios en la oferta de comida en el mercado?
- La municipalidad se vincula de alguna manera con la demanda y oferta actual? (politicas, regulaciones, promocion de actividades, etc.)

Sobre las relaciones en el Mercado con otros comerciantes:

- Como describiria a los comerciantes de este mercado (rubro, origen, edad, genero, etc.)?
- Como describiria la relacion que se mantiene con ellos desde el municipio? Como se da la comunicacion o interaccion con ellos?
- Hay comerciantes que hayan desarrollado mayor cercania a la municipalidad, por temas de gestion u otros? Que promocio esta cercania?
- Que es lo que mas se valora de las relaciones con los comerciantes? (y lo que menos?)
- Como cree que ellos se sienten respecto a su trabajo en el mercado? (lo que les gusta, valoran, sus dificultades)

Sobre las relaciones en el Mercado con los clientes:

- Como describiria a los comerciantes de este mercado (origen, edad, genero, etc.)? A quienes consideraria clientes principales?
- Hay algun tipo de vinculo que la municipalidad desarrolla con los clientes? Se dan espacios de participacion respecto a la gestion del mercado?
- Que cree que es lo que mas y lo que menos le gusta a los clientes de venir al mercado?

Sobre la experiencia personal en el Mercado:

- Podria describir un dia regular de trabajo relacionado al mercado / una visita regular al mercado?
- Haciendo un balance, como describiria su experiencia de trabajo con el mercado?
- Cuales son los logros mas importantes que se han tenido en el mercado a partir de las intervenciones del municipio?
- Que retos implica gestionar un mercado hoy?
- Como seria un mercado ideal para usted? (este u otro imaginario)

- Cuales son las metas hoy respecto a este mercado? Que oportunidades y obstaculos identifica para hacerlas realidad?
- Que aprendizajes y reflexiones le despierta el espacio del mercado?

Annex 3: List of interviewees – additional details

- **Traders Interviewed:**

Market	Code	Pseudonym	Address in Lima	Educational Level	Type of tenancy	Date Interview	Duration Interview
Mercado N.1, Surquillo	MN1 - T 1	Mariela	Lima	Technical	Owner - inherited, parents	26/02/15	1h 20min
	MN1 - T 2	Lorenzo	Barranco	High School	Owner - inherited, parents	12/02/15	1h 14min
	MN1 - T 3	Sandra	San Juan de Miraflores	Primary School	Owner, acquired	01/03/15	1h 5 min
	MN1 - T 4	Diego	Surquillo	Technical	Owner, family business	03/03/15	1h 12 min
	MN1 - T 5	Gina	Chorrillos	University (Education)	Owner - inherited, parents	03/03/15	1h 18 min
	MN1 - T 6	Dario	San Isidro	Technical (Chef)	Rent to owner	18/03/15	32 min
	MN1 - T 7	Julia	Surquillo	Technical	Owner - inherited, parents	04/04/15	58 min
San Jose Market, Jesus Maria	SJM - T 1	Ines	Jesus Maria	High School	Rent to owner	03/12/15	1h 9min
	SJM - T 2	Enrique	Jesus Maria	High School	Owner - inherited, parents	20/02/15	39 min
	SJM - T 3	Alicia	Pueblo Libre	University (Psychology)	Owner, acquired	19/03/15	1h 18min
	SJM - T 4	Carla	Jesus Maria	University	Owner-inherited, parents	20/03/15	44 min
	SJM - T 5	Carlos	El Agustino	Technical (Chef)	Rent to owner	23/03/15	26 min
	SJM - T 6	Jose	Jesus Maria	University (Chemistry)	Owner - inherited, parents	19/03/15	51 min
	SJM - T 7	Luis	Ate	High School	Dependent	15/04/15	55 min

- **Customers interviewed:**

Market	Code	Pseudonym	Address in Lima	Educational Level	Frequency of visits	Date Interview	Duration Interview
Mercado N.1, Surquillo	MN1 - C 1	Jorge	Lima	University	once a week	31/03/15	15 min
	MN1 - C 2	Antonio	San Isidro	University	> once a week	30/03/15	33 min
	MN1 - C 3	Erick	Miraflores	University	once a week	12/02/15	45 min
	MN1 - C 4	Aurora	Surquillo	University - not finished	once every three months	27/02/15	43 min
	MN1 - C 5	Rita	Miraflores	University	once a week	14/04/15	35 min
	MN1 - C 6	Irma	Lima	University - not finished	daily	04/03/15	57 min
	MN1 - C 7	Lucio	San Juan de Lurigancho	Technical	daily (supply for restaurant)	28/03/15	44 min
	MN1 - C 8	Christian	Jesus Maria	High School finished	daily	01/04/15	33 min
	MN1 - C 9	Nora	Miraflores	Postgraduate studies (Master)	once a week	01/04/15	38 min
	MN1 - C 10	Erika	Miraflores	Technical	once a week	16/04/15	41 min
San Jose Market, Jesus Maria	SJM - C 1	Karen	San Isidro	University	once a week	13/04/15	36 min
	SJM - C 2	Ricardo	Jesus Maria	Postgraduate studies (Master)		17/02/15	31 min
	SJM - C 3	Susana	Magdalena	University	weekly	11/03/15	1h 35 min
	SJM - C 4	Daniel	Miraflores	University	once a month	02/03/15	1h 9min
	SJM - C 5	Andres	Pueblo Libre	University	once - twice a month	16/04/15	45 min
	SJM - C 6	Nidia	Jesus Maria / San Isidro	Superior	once a month	20/04/15	36 min
	SJM - C 7	Tula	Jesus Maria	University - not finished	daily	22/04/15	45min

**Annex 4: Information Sheet and Informed Consent Form
provided to Interviewees
(traders and customers)**

- **Information Sheet [English]**

Information Sheet for participating in Research Studies

You will be given a copy of this information sheet.

Title of Project: Reshaping civic culture in urban food markets: social encounters around food in the context of the ‘gastronomic boom’ in Lima, Peru¹

This study has been approved by the UCL Research Ethics Committee (Project ID Number): 6182/001

Name: Ana Maria Huaita Alfaro

Work Address: Development Planning Unit, The Bartlett, UCL Faculty of the Built Environment. 34 Tavistock Square, London. WC1H 9EZ

Contact Details: am.huaita-alfaro.13@ucl.ac.uk

We would like to invite to participate in this research project

Details of Study:

The aim of this research project is to collect experiences and opinions related to Lima’s marketplaces and social activities happening around food in these public spaces. You have been asked for an interview because your knowledge of, and participation in this market, makes your contribution valuable. Findings from this research are expected to raise awareness about the value of the social and cultural experiences that take place in markets. These findings are

¹ Title used before fieldwork.

expected to contribute to projects and policies that shape public spaces and have impacts on the everyday life in the city.

If you agree to take part in this study, the procedure for conducting interviews will be clarified and discussed – that is, details such as the date, place and duration of the interview will be agreed. If at any point the interview raises topics leading to discomfort or distress, it will be interrupted and you will decide if you wish to continue at another time or to finally withdraw your participation. At the end of the data collection process, the researcher will invite you to participate in a workshop in which you will learn about the preliminary outcomes of this research and where your comments will be again of great value for the project. Later on, you will receive a report stating the final outcomes.

Personal details will be collected with the purpose of maintaining future communications with you as a participant. Only the researcher contacting you will have access to this information and will secure the confidentiality of it. Recorded interviews will be transcribed (written up) and the tape will then be wiped clear. Transcripts will be anonymised immediately.

If you agree to be interviewed, you will be asked to sign a consent form. It is up to you to decide whether to take part or not; choosing not to take part will not disadvantage you in any way. If you do decide to take part, you are still free to withdraw at any time and you can decide whether to participate or not in project activities in a later stage. Please discuss this information with the researcher contacting you if there is anything not clear or if you would like more details about this research project.

All data will be collected and stored in accordance with the Data Protection Act 1998 (legislation for data protection in the United Kingdom, country in which the information will be processed).

Signed:

Date:

- **Information Sheet [Spanish]**

Hoja informativa para participación en proyecto de investigación

Usted recibirá una copia de esta hoja informativa

Titulo del Estudio: Reformulando la cultura cívica en mercados urbanos de comida: encuentros sociales en torno a la comida en el contexto del ‘boom gastronómico’ en Lima, Perú

Este estudio ha sido aprobado por el Comité de Ética de Investigación de University College London (UCL, Londres – Reino Unido). Numero de identificación del proyecto: 6182/001

*Nombre de la investigadora: Ana María Huaita Alfaro
Direccion de la Facultad: Development Planning Unit, The Bartlett, UCL
Faculty of the Built Environment. 34 Tavistock Square, London. WC1H 9EZ
[contact details]*

La presente va con motivo de invitarlo(a) a participar en este proyecto de investigación.

El objetivo de este proyecto de investigación es el de recolectar experiencias y opiniones relacionadas con los mercados de Lima y las actividades sociales que ocurren en torno a la comida en estos espacios públicos. Se le ha solicitado una entrevista porque su conocimiento y participación en este mercado hacen que su contribución sea valiosa. Se espera que los hallazgos que deriven de esta investigación lleven a crear conciencia acerca del valor de las experiencias sociales y culturales que tienen lugar en los mercados. Asimismo, se espera que estos hallazgos contribuyan a proyectos y políticas dirigidas a configurar los espacios públicos, y que ellos tengan impactos positivos en la vida cotidiana en la ciudad.

Si usted acepta formar parte de este estudio, el procedimiento para conducir la entrevista será aclarado y discutido previamente – es decir, los detalles de fecha y hora, lugar y duración de la entrevista serán acordados. Si en cualquier momento la entrevista toca temas que le causen incomodidad o molestia, esta será interrumpida y usted podrá decidir si desea continuar en algún otro momento si desea retirarse y no participar del proyecto. Al final del proceso de recolección de datos, el investigador lo(a) invitará a participar en un taller en el cual se darán a conocer los resultados preliminares del estudio y donde sus comentarios serán nuevamente de gran valor para el proyecto.

Luego de esta etapa, usted recibirá un reporte donde se presentarán los resultados finales del estudio.

Sus datos personales serán recolectados con el propósito de mantener comunicaciones futuras con usted, a manera de participante del proyecto. Solo la investigadora que la contacta en esta oportunidad tendrá acceso a esta información y asegura la confidencialidad de la misma. Las entrevistas serán grabadas y luego transcritas (escritas); luego de esto, la grabación será borrada. Las transcripciones serán anónimas – es decir, su nombre no aparecerá en ellas.

Si usted acepta ser entrevistado, se le pedirá que firme un formato de consentimiento. Usted decide si desea participar en este estudio o no; no participar en el no representa ningún tipo de desventaja para usted. Si decide formar parte de el, aun es libre de retirarse en cualquier momento y de decidir si desea participar en futuras actividades relacionadas al proyecto de investigación. Por favor, discuta esta información con la investigadora que lo contacta si algo no quedara claro o si deseara conocer mas detalles acerca de este proyecto.

Todos los datos serán recolectados y almacenados de acuerdo al Acta de Protección de Datos 1998 (legislación del Reino Unido, país donde la información será procesada).

Firma:

Fecha:

- **Informed Consent Form [English]**

Informed Consent Form for participating in Research Studies

Please complete this form after you have read the Information Sheet and/or listened to an explanation about the research.

Title of Project: Reshaping civic culture in urban food markets: social encounters around food in the context of the 'gastronomic boom' in Lima, Peru

This study has been approved by the UCL Research Ethics Committee (Project ID Number): 6182/001

Thank you for your interest in taking part in this research. Before you agree to take part, the person organising the research must explain the project to you.

If you have any questions arising from the Information Sheet or explanation already given to you, please ask the researcher before you decide whether to join in. You will be given a copy of this Consent Form to keep and refer to at any time.

Participant's Statement

I

- have read the notes written above and the Information Sheet, and understand what the study involves.
- agree that the research project named above has been explained to me to my satisfaction and I agree to take part in this study.
- consent to use the information given during my participation for the project purposes.
- agree to be contacted in the future by UCL researchers who would like to invite me to participate in follow-up studies.
- understand that the information I have submitted will be published as a report and I will be sent a copy. Confidentiality and anonymity will be maintained and it will not be possible to identify me from any publications.
- understand that if I decide at any time that I no longer wish to take part in this project, I can notify the researchers involved and withdraw immediately.
- understand that such information will be treated as strictly confidential and handled in accordance with the provisions of the Data Protection Act 1998

(legislation for data protection in the United Kingdom, country in which information will be processed).

Please mark what corresponds to your personal option:

I agree with my interview being recorded: Yes ____ No____

Signed:

Date:

- **Informed Consent Form [Spanish]**

Formato de consentimiento para participar en proyecto de investigación

Por favor, complete este formato luego de haber leído la Hoja Informativa y/o haber escuchado la explicación acerca de la investigación.

Titulo del Estudio: **Reformulando la cultura cívica en mercados urbanos de comida: encuentros sociales en torno a la comida en el contexto del ‘boom gastronómico’ en Lima, Perú**

Este estudio ha sido aprobado por el Comité de Ética de Investigación de University College London (UCL, Londres – Reino Unido). Numero de identificación del proyecto: 6182/001

Gracias por su interés en tomar parte en esta investigación. Antes de acceder a participar, la persona que la contacta y organiza la investigación debe explicarle el proyecto.

Si tuviera alguna pregunta acerca de la Hoja Informativa o acerca de la explicación dada, por favor consulte con la investigadora antes de aceptar su participación. Usted recibirá una copia de este formato de consentimiento para que lo conserve y pueda hacer referencia a el en cualquier momento.

Declaración del participante

Yo,

- He leído las notas arriba escritas y la Hoja Informativa, y entiendo lo que implica el estudio.
- Acepto que el proyecto de investigación arriba mencionado me ha sido explicado de manera satisfactoria y acepto tomar parte de este estudio.
- Consiento al uso de la información dada durante mi participación para fines del proyecto de investigación.
- Acepto a ser contactado en el futuro por investigadores de University College London (UCL) que quisieran invitarme a participar en estudios de seguimiento al presente.
- Entiendo que la información dada será utilizada para preparar un reporte publicable y que se me enviará una copia del mismo. La confidencialidad y anonimidad serán mantenidas y no será posible identificarme en ninguna publicación.

- Entiendo que si en cualquier momento decido no participar mas de este proyecto, puedo notificar a la investigadora involucrada y abandonarlo inmediatamente.
- Entiendo que esta información será tratada con estricta confidencialidad y será manejada de acuerdo a lo establecido por el Acta de Protección de Datos 1998 (legislación del Reino Unido, país donde la información será procesada)

Por favor, marque según corresponda a su opción personal:

Acepto que mi entrevista sea grabada: Si___ No___

Firma:

Fecha:

Annex 5: List of Markets Visited – additional details

	Market	Frequency of operation	Type of management	Main offer and other relevant details	Bibliographic Reference & Research Contacts
Before PhD / prior project formulation	Mercado de San Telmo	Daily; open until evening	Private management	Antiques stores, also market restaurants and prepared food. Tourism-oriented	Medina and Alvarez, 2009
	Mercado de Sao Paulo	Daily	Public management	Retail market. Support by international funds (IADB) in market's renovation; touristic, city landmark	
	Feria Campesina - Plaza Bolivar	Scheduled dates	Municipal programme	National products and dishes	
During project formulation / before fieldwork	Mercado Central	Daily	Public management	Retail market. Lima's central market - at historical centre; city landmark	Interview with Lima Markets' Municipal authority, 2015
	Borough Market	Daily	Board of Trustees	National and international foodstuffs. Touristic and gourmet, city landmark	Coles, 2014. Meeting with author, 2015
	Chapel Market	Daily	Public management	Retail market	
	Cambridge Market (Market Square)	Daily	Public management	Retail market	
	Marche des Enfants Rouges	Daily; open until evening	Private management (concession)	Retail market. First market of the city; city landmark	
	Mercato settimanale	Weekly	Public management	Retail market	Mentoring by visual ethnographer - event facilitator (University of Trento), 2014
During fieldwork	Mercado Santa Cruz	Daily	Public management	Retail market	Interview with Miraflores Markets' Municipal authority, 2015
	Bioferia de Surquillo	Sundays	Management by civic association	Organic foodstuffs	

	Mercado Modelo 28 de Julio	Daily	Public management	Retail market	Interview with Lima Markets' Municipal authority, 2015
	Ferias Agropecuarias Apega	Sundays	Joint management -private association & traders' collective	National foodstuffs	Interviews with Gastronomic association - management representative, 2014
During thesis writing	Grainger Market	Daily	Public management	Retail market	
	Boston Public Market	Daily; open until evening	Management by civic association	Regional foodstuffs	
	Union Square Market	Daily	Management by civic association	Retail market	Mentoring by market manager - event facilitator (Project for Public Spaces), 2015
	Essex Street Market	Daily	Private management	Retail market. International community centre - residents' defense from real estate interests	Low, 2014. Mentoring by market manager - event facilitator (Project for Public Spaces), 2015
	Upmarket (Waterside)	Weekly	Public management	Retail market. City's main market	
	Seven Sisters Market	Daily	Public management	Retail market. Latin community centre; building under dispute - residents' defense from real estate interests	Gonzalez and Dawson, 2015
	Mercat del Ninot	Daily; open until evening	Public management	Retail market. Municipality s and traders in partnership with private (supermarket) for renewal	Meeting with council authority (Institut Municipal de Mercats de Barcelona), 2015
	Mercat de la Boqueria	Daily; open until evening	Public management	National and international foodstuffs. Touristic and gourmet, city landmark	Hernandez and Andreeva, 2016
	Mercado San Pedro	Daily	Public management	Retail market. Touristic, city landmark	Seligmann, 2015
	Mercado de San Miguel	Daily; open until evening	Private management	National and international foodstuffs. Touristic and gourmet, city landmark	Hernandez and Andreeva, 2016

	Mercado de Abastos	Daily	Management by civic association	Retail market. Touristic, city landmark	
	Les Halles de Paul Bocuse	Daily; open until evening	Private management	Regional foodstuffs. Touristic and gourmet	
	Marche de la Croix Rousse	Sundays	Public management	Retail market	De Certeau, Giard & Mayol, 1998
	Mercato de Porta Palazzo	Daily	Public management	Retail market. Largest open-air market in Europe, city landmark	Black, 2012
	Mercato di Mezzo	Daily; open until evening	Private management	Regional foodstuffs. Touristic and gourmet, city landmark	Fondazione Innovazione Urbana, 2014. Meeting with urban researcher (University of Bologna), 2017
	Mercato delle Erbe	Daily; open until evening	Management by civic association	Retail market	Fondazione Innovazione Urbana, 2014
	Marche de Quai St Antoine	Weekly	Public management	Retail market	Meeting with representative of market advocacy collective (MtonMarche), 2017
	Mercato Albinelli	Daily; open until evening	Management by civic association	Retail market. Touristic and gourmet, city landmark	
Most recent - final outcomes	Mercado Central	Daily; open until evening	Public management	Retail market. Main market in city	
	Mercado Central	Daily	Management by civic association	Seafood and market restaurants. Touristic, city landmark	
	Mercado Cardonal	Daily	Management by civic association	Retail market. Main market in city	
	Leeds Kirkgate Market	Daily	Public management	Retail market. Main market in city	Gonzalez and Waley, 2013. Meeting with author, 2018